



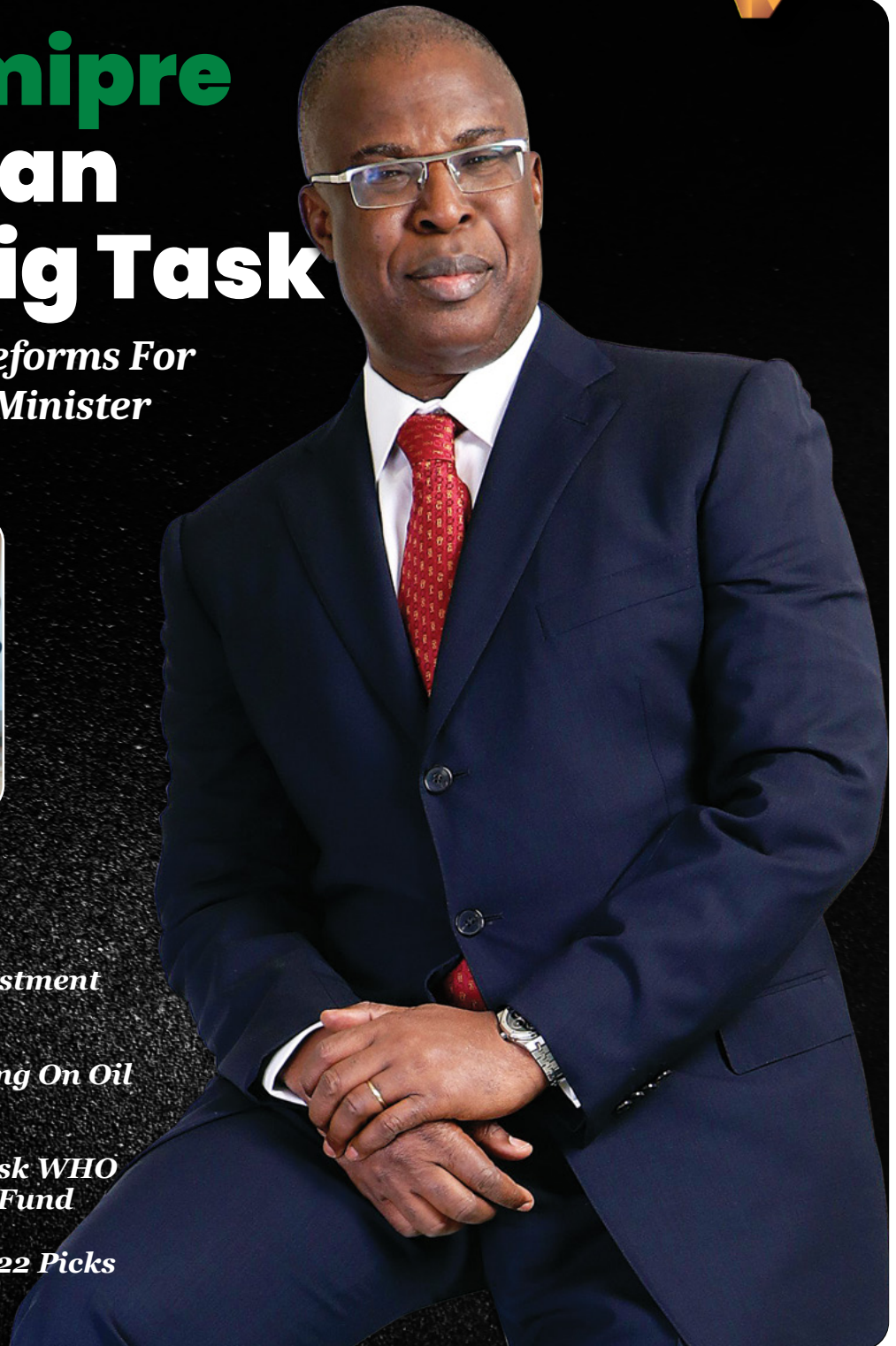
## Chief Timipre Sylva: Man With A Big Task

*A Focus On Energy Reforms For  
Nigeria's Petroleum Minister*



*Blinken Takes Charm  
Offensive to Africa*

- *Burkina Faso Touts Investment Potential*
- *Mozambique-Still Banking On Oil and Gas*
- *West African Nations Task WHO On Pandemic Insurance Fund*
- *African Energy Week 2022 Picks Major Endorsements*



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# Obasanjo, Ethiopia, and the Burden of Conflict Resolution In Africa

By Ajong Mbandah L

“War represents a failure of politics. Thus, dialogue remains the only reliable and sustainable avenue to peace. There is no military solution to the conflict and battlefield victory cannot guarantee political stability in Ethiopia.” The statement is culled from a press statement issued by former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo saddled with responsibility of trying to find solutions to the fighting that is crippling Ethiopia.

As we take stock of another year that has flown by so fast, we use the images of President Obasanjo and Ethiopia to take another look at stakes of security and conflict resolution that Africa must address to make or mar.

In his mid-40s, dashing handsome, well educated, with a strong vision for his country, Prime Minister Ahmed Abiy was viewed by many as the epitome of leadership that Africa needs when he took office in 2018. The peaceful nature of the power transition that brought him to power earned plaudits for Ethiopia. A year or so after he became leader of Ethiopia, Prime Minister Abiy was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

“The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for 2019 to Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali for his efforts to achieve peace and international cooperation, and in particular for his decisive initiative to resolve the border conflict with neighbouring Eritrea,” a statement from the Nobel Prize Committee read. Going further, the statement said, “Abiy Ahmed has initiated important reforms that give many citizens hope for a better life and a brighter future. He spent his first 100 days as Prime Minister lifting the country’s state of emergency, granting amnesty to thousands of political prisoners, discontinuing media censorship, legalising outlawed opposition groups, dismissing military and civilian leaders who were suspected of corruption, and significantly increasing the influence of women in Ethiopian political and community life.”

In awarding the Nobel Prize to Prime Minister Abiy, the committee also lauded the work he had done in trying to address crisis and conflicts between his country and Eritrea, as well as helping in other peace and reconciliation processes in East and Northeast Africa.

The situation that prevails in Ethiopia today should be of concern to everyone -the youth eager to take over power and take Africa in the right direction, those who are eager for democratic reforms, those who want to see cordial relations with neighbors, those who want to see Africa excel on the international scene, those who want to see Africans take more responsibility and ownership in solving its own problems, and so on.

Sadly, Ethiopia is the seat of the African Union, and many are right to ask the question, if the continental body is unable to play a more proactive role in resolving the Ethiopian crisis, then what part of Africa is safe?

In recent months, we have seen actions from Kenya with the visit of President Kenyatta to Addis Ababa to meet with Abiy. President Obasanjo as well has been very active, meeting with many of the key protagonists in the struggle. Indeed, former leaders of President Obasanjo’s ilk should be at work trying to douse the flames of conflicts threatening to derail even the most ambitious of development programs that Africa has. In former leaders like Thabo Mbeki, Obasanjo, Joachim Chissano, Festus Mogae, Seretse Khama, Peter Mutharika, Goodluck Jonathan, Sirleaf Johnson, Jakaya Kikwete, and others, Africa has its own fair share of elder statesmen and women who could bring in wisdom and serve as unbiased umpires in some of the burning issues across the continent.

With all the vast experiences and wealth of wisdom that these leaders have, some of them have foundations that are doing well, and continue to serve with diverse international bodies mostly on election monitoring initiatives. While it is great to see them staying active, mediation in



Ajong Mbandah L, Managing Editor

conflict resolution is one area that could still benefit from their wisdom. Why should we have all these leaders and people are calling for the Swiss, the Vatican, Canadians etc to address the simmering crisis in the English speaking regions of Cameroon? Why should South Sudanese leaders be looking up to the Vatican for mediation when there are credible wisemen who could play that role in Africa?

Peace and security are sine qua non for Africa to live its full potential. All conscientious Africans should have a stake in it. Growing up in my part of the continent, we saw refugees from Chad, Ghana, Liberia, and so many other countries, it was common to hear of conflicts in other parts of the continent. Cameroon had a President who took immense pride in touting Cameroon as an oasis of peace in a troubled continent. Peace should never be taken for granted; genuine grievances of people should never be toyed with.

As the continental body, the African Union needs to get its act together when it comes to finally putting in place a mechanism that can adequately respond to the security needs of the continent. At this point in time, it is unfathomable that it should be Russians meeting the security needs of Central African Republic, or the French helping fight insurgencies in Mali or Burkina Faso, it is disheartening to see countries that are supposed to be sovereign and independent outsourcing security

needs to private international security firms. It has been over 60 years of independence, and this is the 21st century, the AU needs a more robust response mechanism.

In Mozambique, we saw the SADC come up with a plan to free the oil and gas rich region of Cabo-Delgado. The effort benefitted strongly from Rwandan support; such efforts could be multiplied in other parts of the continent where insurgents are running riot.

As we look back at 2021, the slow but steady return of military coups should be a wake-up call for civilian leaderships on the perils of deforming mandates given to them by the people. In Guinea, many will agree it is the change in constitutional term limits that laid the groundwork for the ouster of President Conde. One of the biggest things Africans yearn for is democracy and leaders who indulge in the folly of changing constitutional term limits, do so at their own peril.

The year equally had its highs with solid effort to keep COVID-19 casualty numbers down, the leadership of the AfDB in leading the post recovery process, the successful transfer of power in Zambia, the Jack Ma Foundation and others promoting entrepreneurship across the continent, the successful hosting of the African Energy Week, and many more small victories that the continent can build on in 2022.

In addition to covering some of the seminal issues that characterized Africa in 2021, this end of year issue of PAV also has a profile of Chief Timipre Sylva, Minister of State for Petroleum Resources, the man trusted by President Buhari with the responsibility of restructuring the energy sector in Nigeria, a preview of the political stakes for Kenya next year, the crisis in Cameroon, the visit of US Secretary of State Tony Blinken to Africa, and more,.... Happy reading, Merry Christmas and a prosperous new year in advance to you and your families!!





**Simon TIEMORE**  
**Founder and CEO**

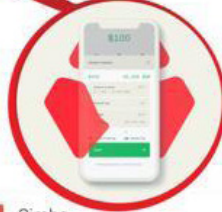
Simba was founded by Simon Tiemore a West African immigrant from Burkina Faso. He came to the U.S. in 1998 to pursue higher education and greater opportunities for himself, his family, and his community.

He experienced first hand the many challenges immigrants face on their journey and vowed to one day find better ways of providing financial services to truly meet the needs of immigrants

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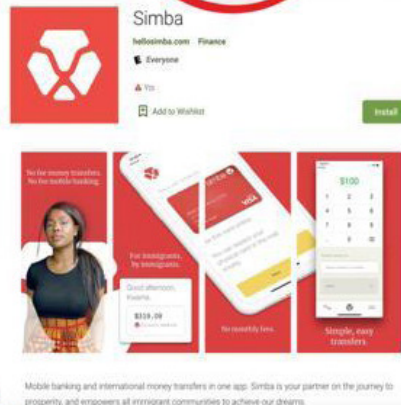
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# A Look at Africa's Key Developmental Milestone Wins for 2021

By Prince Kurupati

The Covid-19 pandemic and the salient issues surrounding it are the major highlights for Africa in 2021 – well, if truth be said, the same can be said for all other continents as the Covid pandemic is the main talking point. For Africa in particular, 2021 has been a year in which the continent from Cape Town to Cairo has fought gallantly to address the issue of vaccine inequity. African leaders and regional bodies have and are still fighting to address vaccine inequality as the rich nations are hoarding vaccines condemning the continent to the prospect of a protracted Covid pandemic. Despite these challenges however, the continent has witnessed major developmental wins both related to and unrelated to Covid issues. In this article, we are going to expose and explore the major developmental milestone wins that the continent can look at and appreciate as it closes the year.

## Vaccine Acquisition

Health is wealth. As such, it is important that we first take a look at Africa's health status for 2021. Like most other continents, Africa in 2021 has battled with the Covid-19 pandemic. As the year comes to a close, the fight against the pandemic is still raging on as a new and potentially serious variant has just been discovered in Botswana and believed to already have spread around the continent and the globe, the fight is likely to carry on in the new year. Despite the challenges faced during the year, the continent can be proud of its efforts in acquiring vaccines.

Spearheading the vaccine acquisition process is the African Union through the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC) and the African Vaccine Acquisition Trust (AVAT). The efforts of these bodies have enabled the continent to receive millions of vaccine doses which have been distributed across the continent. The efforts of the African Union have



South African President Cyril Ramaphosa receives a vaccine shot at a hospital in Western Cape on February 17, 2021. Photo credit Getty Images.

been aided by other private institutions and organisations on the continent and below. Some nations have also leveraged their friendship with rich nations to source for vaccine doses. All these efforts have really helped in Africa's fight against Covid-19.

## Launch of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)

Africa started the year 2021 on a positive note as on 1 January, 2021, the African Continental Free Trade Area was officially launched. At the time of AfCFTA's launch, the African continent accounted for just 2% of global trade. In terms of continental intra trade, Africa ranked poorly with just 17% of its trade being intra trade. Asia's intra trade on the other hand accounts for 59% of the continent's trade while Europe's intra trade accounts for 68% of the region's trade. These numbers together with the need and aspiration to leverage the continent's 1.3 billion population and the continent's combined gross domestic product (GDP) valued at \$3.4 trillion necessitated the authorities to launch the free trade area.

Though still in its infancy, the outlook certainly is positive when it comes to the free trade area. Specifically, on the trade issue, the AfCFTA aims at integrating Africa

further into global supply chains, eliminating 90% of tariffs, dealing and possibly eliminating non-tariff barriers, cutting and removing red tape, simplifying customs procedures and creating a single market with free movement of goods and services. Trade however isn't the only focus of the AfCFTA, beyond trade, the pact also aims at addressing issues surrounding intellectual property, investment, competition, labour and the movement of persons.

## Kazungula Bridge Project

The Kazungula Bridge Project was officially commissioned earlier this year, 10 May, 2021 by the presidents of Botswana and Zambia. The project which was funded by the African Development Bank is a significant developmental win for the continent as it contributes to integration in the southern Africa region. The bridge as according to the African Development Bank "will support trade and transport along the North-South Corridor, and indeed the Trans-African Highway on the Cape to Cairo route. The Bridge also provides impetus to the recently launched African Continental Free Trade Area."

The African Development Bank gave the Zambian government a

\$76.5 million loan to finance the project. The project was also co-financed by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency and the EU-Africa Infrastructure Trust Fund. The bridge was also equipped with one-stop border posts, one on each side of the Zambia/Botswana border. According to the Kazungula Bridge Project manager Godfrey Songeya, "Under the One-Stop Border Post concept, there will be no need to stop twice, as is happening at the moment. Commuters will only stop at the facility of the exit country... We want to ensure that the transit time that is being spent by traders who are using this road is reduced tremendously."

## Marine Drive Project

The Marine Drive Project is one of Ghana's several ambitious projects meant at transforming the country into a middle-income country. The project is wholly funded by the Ghanaian government and it aims at developing sections of the Accra coastline into a state-of-the-art tourism destination. Though not yet officially commissioned, structures are already up as facilities such as hotels, shopping malls, casinos, water theme parks, floor office complexes, conference and exhibition centres and sports pitches are in place. The project





**Story 2 Pic 2 President Akufo Addo of Ghana and AUC Chair Moussa Faki Mahamat, reiterated the importance of the AfCFTA to the economic transformation agenda of Africa, Photo courtesy.jpg**

covers over 240 acres of land stretching from the Christianborg Castle in Osu through the Independence Square to Baiden Powell near the Arts Centre in downtown Accra.

#### Nigeria Launches The eNaira

Packaged as a Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC), the eNaira is built on the same block chain supporting technology but unlike Bitcoins which the bank continues to hold at arm's length, it essentially operates as a CBN-guaranteed legal tender which is issued, regulated and controlled by the apex monetary authority of Africa's most populous nation. Speaking at an event to flag-off its adoption in Abuja, President Muhammadu Buhari outlined that the e-Naira had the prospect of helping to increase the country's GDP by \$29 billion across the next 10 years.

According to the President, the

scheme had not come without a careful consideration of its pros and cons: <In recent times, the use of physical cash in conducting business and making payments has been on the decline. This trend has been exacerbated by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and the resurgence of a new digital economy. <The absence of a swift and effective solution to these requirements, as well as fears that central banks' actions sometimes lead to hyperinflation created the space for non-government entities to establish new forms of "private currencies" that seemed to have gained popularity and acceptance across the world, including here in Nigeria."

<Needless to add, close monitoring and close supervision will be necessary in the early stages of implementation to study the effect of eNaira on the economy as a whole.

"It is on the basis of this that the



**President Buhari says the e-Naira has the prospect of increasing GDP by USD 29 billion across the next 10 years.**

Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) sought and received my approval to explore issuing Nigeria's own Central Bank Digital Currency, named the eNaira," the President explained.

#### African Energy Week 2021

"Cape Town, South Africa, has always been the welcoming home of the African energy industry. They said it was not possible, and it could not be done in Africa, that it was not the right time to meet together and talk about the issues we face as Africans. At the end of the day, it is about people, and this is why we are hosting the event in Cape Town. We are going to have an energy transition, there is no question about that, but it has to be just, and we are not going to apologize for that. While some people believe we should give up our natural resources, at this time, Africa is going to be the voice of humanity. As we hold various

dialogues in Cape Town, it is time for us to stand together. We have to take some responsibility to do better, drive better," said NJ Ayuk at the opening ceremony of the maiden edition of the African Energy Week.

At a time when fair weather friends of Africa in the energy sector deserted the continent in its hour of need, the African Energy Week went a long way to restore the wounded pride of the continent. Buoyed by the resounding success and reverberating echoes of AEW 2021, the African Energy Chamber has already announced that the 2022 edition will run from October 31 – November 4 in Cape Town, South Africa.

Considering the immense challenges that Africa is still grappling with ,there were plenty of positives that the continent should be able to build on in anticipation of better prospects for 2022.



**They said it was not possible, and it could not be done in Africa, said NJ Ayuk as he defied the odds to open the AEW in Cape Town, South Africa.**

# LONSA

## GROUP OF COMPANIES

**L**onsa, a Mauritanian corporate holding entity, is a principal investment entity investing in the energy, industrials, logistics and property sectors in Southern Africa. Lonsa was formed in 2004 and has a track record of concluding complex corporate transactions. Lonsa's principals have unrivalled experience and knowledge of working and delivering value in its chosen businesses gained by investing in excess of 2.5 Billion USD in the continent over the past 17 years. Lonsa operates from offices in Johannesburg, Harare, Ebene and London.

### Lonsa controls the following entities:



Infrastructure development



Infrastructure development



Infrastructure development



Logistics



Housing



Renewable Energy



# A Stable, Solid Economy and Human Resource Base Makes Burkina Faso a Prime Investment Destination

By Prince Kurupati

Since his ascension to power, Burkina Faso's President Roch Marc Christian Kabore has been steering the country towards the path of economic success and development as concerted efforts are being taken to ensure that the country becomes as competitive as other regional economic powerhouses in the western Africa region such as Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire

To achieve its economic targets, Burkina Faso has just launched the National Economic and Social Development Plan (PNDES II). The economic blueprint clearly outlines Burkina Faso's economic vision, the roadmap to be taken towards achieving the vision as well as the priority sectors that are important



President Roch Marc Kabore is using his second to put Burkina Faso on a more sustainable economic path. Photo credit Getty images.

in necessitating success. While the goal of the economic blueprint is to necessitate economic growth and development, Kabore and his administration are aware of the fact that many other factors help in

achieving the country's vision. As such, the blueprint also touches on issues of social cohesion, security and resilience.

As outlined in the economic blueprint, the strategic lines that Burkina Faso is going to adopt in guiding the development agenda are as follows:

Line 1: Strengthening resilience, security, social cohesion and peace

Lien 2: Pursuing institutional reforms deeper and modernising public administration

Line 3: Strengthening the development of human capital and national solidarity

Line 4: Boosting sectors of growth for the economy and employment

The development plan by Burkina Faso has already won the hearts of many who believe that the future is bright for the country is the laid-out plans come to fruition. The President of the US-Africa Business Centre and also the Senior Vice President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Scott Eisner says "Burkina Faso is a country endowed with mineral resources, mainly gold that have been driving the growth of the mining sector, which represents about 20% of the overall potential in West Africa. Agrobusiness and energy are other sectors with tremendous growth

potential. Burkina Faso is also known as the capital of art and culture in the region, with its flagship FESPACO, one of Africa's most important film festivals."

In light of the country's potential, Scott Eisner is convinced that the country's efforts as espoused in the economic blueprint to institute "reforms to improve the regulatory environment and the ease of doing business are all indicative of a nation ready to attract foreign direct investment". To ensure that Burkina Faso realises all

of its goals and objectives, Eisner assured that Burkinabe government that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce "will work closely with Burkina's public and private sectors to expand the commercial relationship between our two nations. This interaction will also allow American companies to support Burkina Faso's economic diversification agenda through skills development and technology transfer".

To spearhead the investment drive, President Kabore launched the Investment Agency of Burkina Faso (ABI). The main purpose of the agency is to streamline, coordinate and rationalise all government initiatives and actions in regard to promoting and facilitating investment". ABI in collaboration with other state institutions has already put in place a three-step plan to optimise investment promotion. First, the agency seeks to use focal points in diplomatic representations of Burkina Faso "to relay actions of investment promotion and monitoring in foreign countries, and secure solid partners in all support bodies for the Burkinabe private sector". Second, the agency aims at establishing a network of focal points in diplomatic representations accredited in Burkina Faso with a view to "establishing a



Burkina Faso Minister of Finance Lassane Kabore was in Washington, DC recently to pitch the ambitious economic plan to investors.



synergy of actions for attracting FDIs efficiently and optimising monitoring and support actions for foreign investors in the country". Lastly, there is a network of focal points for monitoring investment projects in line ministries whose role is "to identify, update and monitor investment projects concerning the relevant departments".

Burkina Faso's Finance Minister Lassane Kabore said his ministry is critical in ensuring that the country achieves its economic targets. Kabore said the ministry is well prepared to help put Burkina Faso on the world map of fast rising nations. Minister Kabore said his ministry has already perfected the art of speaking "the same language with companies," a key element when it comes to the relationship between finance ministries and private companies.

Diplomacy plays an important role when it comes to foreign investment. Burkina Faso is proud to say that it has cordial relations with almost all



*Simba Founder Simon Tiemtore, Amba to USA Seydou Kabore, Special Advisor at the Presidency incharge of Economy and Finance Stephane Quadraogo were part of the charm offensive to Washington, DC*

countries on the globe from the north to the south, west to east. Thanks to these relations, the country can look in any direction when it comes to sourcing investments. In the West, Burkina Faso's friendship with the US is clear for all to see while its relationship with the EU can best be demonstrated by the volume of aid which "rose from 28 million euros for the 1959-1963 period to around 850 million for the 2016-2020 period". In

the East, Burkina Faso recently cut ties with Taiwan and thanks to that decision, friendly relations emerged between the country and the People's Republic of China.

Investors when they come into the country will rely on a strong network of road, rail and air infrastructure to conduct their business and trade. On this front, Burkina Faso's Minister of Infrastructures and Opening UP, Eric Wendenmanegha Bougouma

said, "From 2016 to 2020, spurred on by the President, Roch Marc Christian Kabore and under the guidance of the Prime Minister, significant efforts have been made in the construction, tarmacking and rehabilitation of the major economic corridors... The proportion of tarmacked roads rose from 24.5% to 27.42%". The minister said his ministry is still working to open up the country and interconnect all major cities, towns and rural centres to facilitate trade and investment.

The PNDES economic blueprint formulated by President Kabore with the aim "to build with the people a Burkina Faso of democracy, economic and social progress, freedom and justice" certainly is helping the country to find its feet to stand head and shoulders with regional economic powerhouses. Investment promotion is at the forefront and significant success has already been achieved thus far owing to the country's stable and solid economy and human resource base. \_

## Reforming The African Union

*By Mwalimu George Ngwane*

Between the Casablanca dream led by Kwame Nkrumah in 1961 and the Sirte dream by Muammar Gaddafi in 1999, the African Union has slowly gone down the slope of performance and credibility in the eyes of the African people. The ongoing war in Ethiopia, headquarters of the African Union, and other raging conflicts in Africa have exposed our continental body to virile criticisms pointing in the direction of reform and restructuring. The urgency of a rethink on how this body can better play its role is now. This is the moment to erect a union that is pro-African in terms of economic parity and political integrity. The new challenges Africa faces today require a viable supra-national structure, which on the 9th of July 2002 was, called the African Union. As I see it, this structure can be reformed along one of these two strategies (a) the African five regions



*The urgency of a rethink on how the African Union can better play its role is now, says Mwalimu George Ngwane.*

or (A-5) strategy (b) the European Union or (E. U.) strategy.

### *The African Union: A-5 strategy*

Africa can be mapped into five sub-regions, North, South, East, West and Central. Each sub-region is equipped with viable economic blocs. These blocs, which serve to maintain regional security and economic co-operation include, the Maghreb Union in the North; Southern African Development community (SADC) in the South; East African Co-operation (EAC) in the East; Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) in the West; and the Central African Economic and Monetary Union (CEMAC) in the Central sub-region. Though other micro blocs do exist (some acting as neo-colonial saboteurs) within Africa, the five mentioned above have over the years proven their mettle in structural and institutional designs, albeit with varying success. By setting up these





*PM Abiy has taken to the warfront .The war has exposed the AU to virile criticisms pointing to reform and restructuring.*

regional economic communities, politicians and economic planners hoped to overcome more quickly the causes of underdevelopment, to help create a basis for resolving conflicts between neighbouring countries and to reduce the commercial, industrial, technical and financial dependency of most Third World countries on the industrial nation in the north.

The aim of regional blocs has always revolved around a shared interest among geographical neighbours and an eventual common dream among the African people. Indeed, Nkrumah's dream with the Casablanca group was shattered because the Monrovia group believed in a gradual integration of African countries through regional co-operation. Unfortunately, all attempts to foster a smooth regional co-operation have resulted instead in regional destabilisation in some cases and outright nonchalance in most cases. Pragmatic economic agendas like the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) and the African Economic Community Treaty of Abuja (1991) proposed by economic planners and signed by heads of states have remained mere pipe dreams and pan African demagoguery. The

result is that today, the legitimate aspirations of genuine African unity as conceived by the people continues to be at the periphery of the agenda of ego-bloated African leaders. Many reasons have already been advanced by other scholars for the failure of rapid economic integration that could have led to a United Africa. Among these reasons, one must single out the lack of political will by our leaders to first of all provide structural stability through good governance within their own countries and then to relinquish their colonial sovereignties and the «sacrosanctity of boundaries» to the common cause of African unity.

Reluctant to chart its own path to economic development, Africa in the 1980s turned International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) loans into neo-colonial blessings and political victories. Yet, no one can honestly deny that the worst economic performance has been during the era of structural adjustment. This is because instead of pursuing the goal of diversifying and transforming the economy, «African countries, to quote Adebayor Adedeji, were forced to embark on a structural adjustment paradigm whose objective was to perpetuate its mono cultural economic system, its narrow

production base and the persistence of a high level of external dependence which renders it highly susceptible to external shocks». One can only hope that African leaders have now read the handwriting on the wall and that they could commit the A-5 strategy, thus building the five sub-regional organisations until the continent becomes a five-tiered federation with a political executive organ at the top. Africa would then be comprised of five large interdependent federations instead of fifty-four autonomous but weak nation states. The next step would be for these sub-regional federations to address security and economic issues, adopt a single sub-regional African language, create a common sub-regional passport, introduce a single sub-regional currency and establish a single sub-regional parliament. The results would be that Africa would have five main African languages, five main passports, five main currencies and five main parliaments. The federated sub-regions would develop adequate transport and communication infrastructure, share in food security and allow for free movement of goods and people within them.

At the continental level, there would

be a political executive organ that would co-ordinate all the activities of the five sub-regions. This is the organ that would be truly the African Union.

The African Union would have a supranational secretariat, and representatives from the sub-regions would constitute the federal executive body of the Union. To promote collegial leadership, the representation from the sub-regions shall be heads of states who may have been elected to co-ordinate the activities of their sub-regions. Therefore, there would be five heads of state to run the executive arm of the Union at every given time.

Clearly, the A-5 strategy calls for a radical change of mentality among our leaders. If the present state of activities inherent in the three already active sub-regional organizations (ECOWAS, EAC, SADC) can be a basis upon which to judge, the verdict would be that there is reason to believe in a vibrant and enterprising five-tiered federation of Africa. However, for an African Union built on the A-5 strategy to survive, the federated sub-regions must overcome cultural imperialistic prejudices, personality rivalries, hegemonistic tendencies, national chauvinism and



*AU Chief Felix Tshisekedi with AUC Chair Moussa Faki. The urgency of a rethink on how this body can better play its role is now.*

unbridled power interest. But, as Diop has argued, «The time has come for us to abandon our complexes and work in favour of a Union that is favourable to all Africans. That's the crux of the matter»

### **The African Union-The E.U strategy:**

The present African Union structure seems to have been fashioned along the lines of the European Union, but not along the dreams of the Sirte Declaration of 9 September 1999. The new strategy should be to have two or three countries begin a new form of unity and other countries are led into the union through a referendum from each country. To blend these two components the African Union members should continue to ponder over these objectives:

To institute a new African nationalism of self-confidence and Unity among the people of Africa.

To eradicate all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

To promote indigenous democracy, endogenous development and sustainable peace.

To safeguard the common

values, fundamental interests and independence of the Union.

To strengthen issues of co-operations, stability and development of the Union and its member states in all ways.

To review areas of debts, trade and co-operation with Western countries.

These objectives should provide the union with a vision for a shared future—providing for all its members balanced development, political stability and economic independence. In order to achieve these objectives, the Union should uphold the following principles:

- Member states shall renounce a definite portion of their national sovereignty to independent institutions and the general Union.

- Member states shall adopt a single flag, a single anthem, a single passport, a single African currency, and a single African language.

- There shall be no discrimination based on nationality against any citizen seeking employment outside their own member states; in other words each citizen shall move, work and reside anywhere within the member states.

- There shall be harmonised

rules and access to public sector jobs and benefits derived therefrom; with priority given to citizens from member states.

- There shall be a review of the educational system, so it serves the needs of the majority of Africans and a harmonised recognition of diplomas and certificates.

- There shall be abolition of customs or tax barriers and limited border checks so as to ensure the free movement of persons and goods across boundaries and to establish a common market and economic community.

- Members shall be absolutely dedicated to the economic, cultural and political unification of Africa.

- Members shall share a common ideological platform on foreign, security and agricultural policies.

- No other international co-operation by member states shall be done to undermine the charter of the Union.

With a reasonable continental policy based on intra African trade and co-operation through the African Union, Africans shall work for the prime benefit of Africa. The

ruling elites and the enthusiastic masses shall together embark on a journey in which we all see Africa not as a conglomeration of nations with artificial and psychological boundaries but as a political Union that seeks a better quality of life, through participatory governance, integrated and self-reliant economics and more integrity for the African people.

\* Mwalimu George Ngwane is author of the book "Settling Disputes in Africa" (2001), Senior Chevening Fellow, Conflict Prevention and Resolution, University of York (UK) 2010, Rotary Peace Fellow, University of Chulalongkorn, Bangkok (Thailand) 2015, Commonwealth Professional Fellow, Minority Rights Group, London (UK) 2015, Bilingual Commission scholar, Cardiff, Wales 2015, United Nations Minority Rights Fellow, OHCHR, Geneva (Switzerland) 2016. He was elected Member since 2017 of the Board of Trustees, Minority Rights Group, London (UK) and Minority Rights Group, Africa (Uganda). He is also since 2021 a Senior Fellow with the United Nations Commission for Human Rights. His blog is [www.gngwane.com](http://www.gngwane.com)





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# Chief Timipre Sylva: Man With A Big Task

*A Bullish Approach To Energy Reforms From The Nigerian Minister of Petroleum*

*By Richard Mammah*

As Minister of State for Petroleum Resources, it is Timipre Sylva's brief to keep a close watch on matters related to the sector on behalf of President Muhammadu Buhari. And given the continued dominant role that is played by the sector in the lives and affairs of Nigerians, it is apparent that he is one who sits on a literal hot seat.

Recently, the reports on fluctuations in the price of crude oil on the international stage, compelled planned removal of subsidies as well as the need for the Minister of State to personally make landfall in Bayelsa State on account of an oil spill that had occurred in one of the crude oil installations there. Indeed, it is a quite busy schedule.

Born on July 7, 1964, the former Governor of Bayelsa State has among other stints served as a lawmaker in the Rivers State House of Assembly and as Special Assistant to Dr. Edmund Daukoru during his own sojourn as Minister of State, Petroleum Resources, is superintending over the all-important petroleum resources ministry at a most epochal moment in Nigeria's history.

It is a season of the unbundling of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation and its replacement with

a successor organisation that is expected to be more market driven than its predecessor establishment.

In a country where the government is yet to meet up the expectations of many running businesses, this submission is being seen by analysts as one that had to come but that is not the entire story.

Given the challenges that followed reform attempts of the nation on electricity, aviation and telecommunications behemoths, it is a transition that has to be carefully and most delicately managed.

There is also the added fact that petroleum provides a staggering bulk of both the foreign exchange needs of the country as well as its core revenues. This is in addition to the impact on overall national life that comes on the heels of decades of subsidies.

Evidently, there are several minefields on the way. The labour movement, and by extension, the



*As Minister of State for Petroleum Resources Chief Timipre Sylva oversees one of the most sensitive sectors in Nigeria.*



*As a former Governor with great leadership skills, Chief Timipre Sylva has not been shy about confronting the challenges facing the petroleum sector in Nigeria.*

generality of the Nigerian populace needs to be persuaded that the current reforms being introduced would deliver real value to the citizenry in real terms, and then be mobilised to support it.

The mere fact that after over a decade of tossing and turning, the nation now has a Petroleum Industry Act, PIA stands out as a basic achievement of sorts. But as they say, the devil is in the details. In its formulation however, the PIA sets out to boost the investment climate for increased yield in the sector as well as assuage some of the feelings of marginalisation of oil producing communities. And as it is to be expected, even with its passage, there is still relatively loud debate and discussion as to whether it all comes together neatly.

As a key player in the global energy industry with membership

in Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC, African Petroleum Producers Organisation, APPO, World Petroleum Council, World Gas Council, World Energy Council, the Minister has set out on a Strategic Mission to engage stakeholders. He will meet with investors on the platform of the 23rd World Petroleum Congress as well as the Africa Energy Futures Forum organized by the African Petroleum Producers Organization, and the African Refiners and Distributors Association.

Another notable point that requires working through has to do with taking more steps to ensure that the comatose state of local refining, which has been a critical point of challenge for the sector and nation, would need to be comprehensively addressed as soon as possible.

Sylva among other responsibilities



has the task of engaging the global energy community to communicate the New Nigerian Energy Economy, and the degree to which the investment environment is being ameliorated against the backdrop of the global debate on the energy transition.

At the moment, the hope is that the Dangote Oil Refinery under construction and one or more other private initiatives in the sector would soon get to the point where they would be producing and dispensing refined petroleum products in-country. This is in addition to efforts the government is undertaking to get some of its own refineries working. These would help stave the current challenge where huge sums of foreign exchange continue to be channeled into the importation of refined products for domestic consumption, among other industry and national shortfalls.

Related to this is the question of how the new NNPC performs in real terms. Before now, there had been quite considerable public concern over its loss-making nature. The ongoing reforms are meant to, among other things, address this concern, and the public is waiting and watching to see and confirm if this would be



*Chief Timipre Sylva has been the closest collaborator of President Buhari in working on needed reforms to transform the petroleum sector in Nigeria*

more than a case of 'putting new wine in old skins.'

The generality of Nigerians would also need to be mobilised to see that, in the push for the greater global actualisation of the green economy that is presently underway, the petroleum revenues that continue to come in would not be guaranteed forever, and that the situation does encourage both a lowering

of expectations as to petroleum sector's potential contribution to the national revenue base going forward, and a greater emphasis on sourcing non-oil revenues through a heightened programme of economic diversification.

Amid global energy transition and changes in the sector to accommodate the exigencies of climate change and carbon reduction, Nigeria is

making efforts to set the stage for investment from key partners like the US and others. Chief Timipre Sylva does have his work cut out for him, and the hope is that he would deliver substantially on it before the President Muhammadu Buhari led administration takes its exit in the next 17 months.



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# Kenya: Ruto, Raila Ahead, But Voter Apathy Could Derail Their Ambitions

By Samuel Ouma

**K**enyans will go to the polls in less than nine months to pick new officials, including the President, Governors, Senators, MPs, Woman representatives, and Members of County Assemblies (MCAs).

The much-anticipated elections will take place on August 9, 2022, and will be the country's eighth since the establishment of multiparty politics in 1992.

Other democratic elections were held in 1997, 2002, 2007, 2013, and 2017, in addition to the 1992 polls in which multiple political parties competed.

The focus is on the presidential seat as the incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta is expected to retire when his term expires. According to political analysts, the following year's presidential election will be a two horse race pitching the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga and Deputy President William Ruto.

Wiper party leader Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi (ANC), Gideon Moi of Kanu, Mukhisa Kituyi, and National Assembly Speaker Justin Muturi, among others, have also indicated an interest in becoming Kenya's fifth president. But there are arguments that they do not have the political muscles to challenge the duo.

"The 2022 Presidential election will be a two-horse race; between Raila Odinga and William Ruto; and the donkeys seeking attention in it," said Kenyan political commentator Collins Ajuok.

Opinion survey findings issued in November 2021 by TIFA Research and Radio Africa backed up the analysts' claims. According to TIFA, Ruto is currently leading with

38 per cent of the vote, followed by Raila with 23 per cent.

According to the Agency, Ruto's popularity dropped by 1% between June and November, while the AU special envoy's presidential bid gained 15 points within the same period.

«At the same time, despite his nearly continual campaign activity, DP Ruto's ratings have remained astonishingly consistent over this entire period (within a range of barely 4% between 35 and 39 per cent),»

TIFA noted.

Ruto is also ahead in the Radio Africa poll, with 46 per cent of the vote to his closest challenger, the former Prime Minister's 28 per cent.

According to TIFA, Musalia Mudavadi and his Wiper counterpart registered two and one per cent respectively.

With the preparations and other elements that influence elections being constant, voter apathy is said to be a factor that could affect the outcome of the polls from the MCA to

the presidency seat.

Low voter turnout, which observers ascribe to voter indifference, particularly among youths, is a concern for the 2022 general elections. Godfrey Ombogo, an international conflict scholar, has linked voter apathy to inadequate voter registration.

According to Mr Ombogo, voter apathy will cause adverse consequences in the country's future leadership, threatening chances of electing competent leaders.

"It is through such education that voters will know that whether they vote or not, they contribute to the kind of leadership in

their ward, constituency, county and country," said Mr. Ombogo.

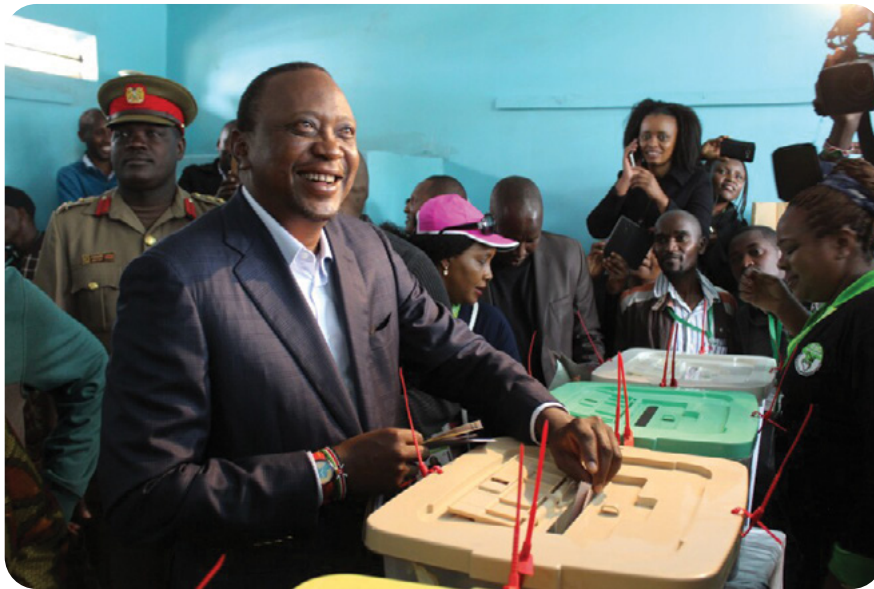
He further noted that education helps the Independent and Electoral Boundaries Commission (IEBC) gain the voters' confidence that it can deliver free, fair, and credible elections.

Going by statistics, Kenyans recently shun the Enhanced Continuous Voter Registration spearheaded by the IEBC. The commission only registered 1519294 new voters out of the projected target of approximately 6 million eligible voters.

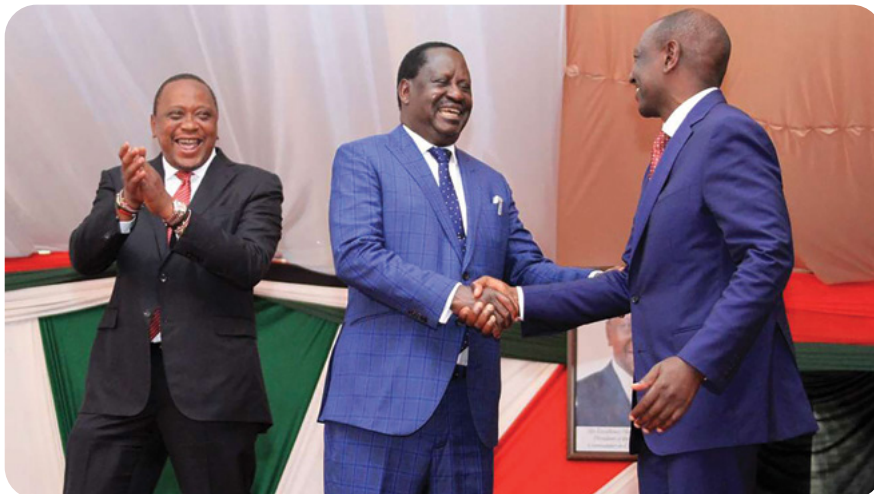
The exercise, which kicked off on October 4 and ended on November 5, targeted mainly youths who have attained eighteen years and above and yet to register as voters.

Low voter turnout was also experienced during by-elections conducted in 2021. For instance, during a mini-poll at Kiambaa constituency, central Kenya, in July, only half of the 96,000 registered voters managed to cast their votes to elect their new MP.

A month earlier,



*Serving his second and last term, President Uhuru Kenyatta will be watching from the sidelines.*



*President Kenyatta laughing in the background as the two front runners to succeed him opposition leader Raila Odinga and embattled Deputy President William share a handshake.*

candidates who were gunning for Juja parliamentary seat in the same region were left in disbelief after 21 862 out of 115,000 ballots were cast.

Kenya's population, which consists of more than 70 per cent of youth, is protesting against the political class who are wooing them with fake job opportunities, economic models, and other goodies.

Alberto Leny said youth are rejecting the political elite as they bear the brunt of challenges the country is

grappling with-historic corruption, massive public debt, economic downturn and unemployment.

A significant number of young people have pledged not to vote in the upcoming elections, claiming that politicians do not have the people's best interests at heart. Many leaders, they allege, gain a fortune for themselves, their families, and cronies at the expense of the voters once elected.

«I'd be doing myself a disservice

by waiting all day to help someone find work while I'm unemployed.» «Politicians are constantly looking out for their interests,» a young lady named Rehab told Pan African Visions.

President Uhuru Kenyatta's backyard, Mt. Kenya, could be the hardest damaged by poor turnout, hurting presidential rivals targeting the vote-rich region dubbed the «cradle of the tyranny of numbers.»

Political analyst Kariuki Kiunjuri

says that the region's lack of a strong presidential candidate could demotivate residents from voting.

Disappointment with the Jubilee administration, according to Ngunjiri, could be a role in why many people will not be willing to vote.

«There is no morale among the people.» They were let down by an administration that made unrealistic promises,» he explained.

## Hichilema's Electoral Victory Spells Doom for Revolutionary Parties in Southern Africa

By Prince Kurupati

The Southern Africa region has been under the hegemony of revolutionary parties' since the decolonisation era. Some of the ruling revolutionary parties in the region have practised exemplary and democratic leadership in their nation-states such as in Botswana but in most other countries which include Zimbabwe, the revolutionary parties have ruled with an iron fist. Most of the revolutionary parties that have ruled with an iron fist have for so long felt entitled to



*After multiple attempts, Hichilema is finally at the helm in Zambia, and expectations are high.*

rule owing to their 'war credentials'. Any other aspiring party seeking to take over political leadership has been brandished with the 'imperialistic party' tag hence tainting its image in the eyes of the public. 2021 however has been a major turnaround when it comes to revolutionary parties' hegemony as necessitated by the surprising electoral victory of Zambian opposition candidate Hakainde Hichilema in the country's August presidential election.

In the build up to the August 2021 Zambian presidential election, many political analysts both within and beyond the Zambian borders predicted a tight race between then incumbent Edgar Lungu and aspiring presidential candidate Hichilema. However, Hichilema's

landslide victory did surprise many including some of Hichilema's own supporters. Winning by a margin of almost 1 million (Hichilema garnered 2,852,348 votes to Lungu's 1,870,780 votes), Hichilema's victory did prove beyond reasonable doubt that the country had placed massive confidence in him and they had totally lost confidence in the rule of Lungu.

While the numbers are certainly impressive when it comes to Hichilema's victory, what makes the victory even more telling is that the political environment leading up to the election was not free nor was it fair. Lungu the then incumbent enjoyed all the air time on state media radios and televisions. He could campaign wherever he wanted without any problems. At his disposal also were

state institutions and personnel whom he could command to do things even those not in their mandate – all in the aim of expediting and furthering his political interests and campaign. On the other hand, Hichilema and other opposition candidates had it tough. Some of their campaigns and rallies were restricted as government authorities cited Covid-19 restrictions and regulations. State security agents through various tricks did disrupt and, in some instances, totally prevent Hichilema to campaign in ruling party strongholds such as Eastern, Northern, Copperbelt and Lusaka. Facing such restrictions and challenges, the mere fact that Hichilema managed to rise and claim a landslide victory made the victory even more sweet.

While Hichilema basked in glory following his defeat, Lungu and his Patriotic Front were left counting their losses. What had just hit them? What did they do wrong? What could they have done differently to get a different result? All these questions pointed to one direction that is, the populace's dissatisfaction with the Patriotic Front rule. The campaign points that endeared Hichilema with millions of voters were pretty simple. More jobs for the people, job security

for all those already employed, a stable currency and economy, a conducive environment that supports entrepreneurs, zero tolerance to corruption, and the prioritisation of the general population above party cadres – these simple and basic campaign points propelled Hichilema to the presidential post while at the same time condemning the Patriotic Front to the opposition benches. If there was anything that the Patriotic Front could do differently, then it certainly entailed fulfilling its election promises from the previous election rather than choosing to sleep on duty hoping to hoodwink the populace with more empty promises come the next election.

The strategy that Lungu and the Patriotic Front was hoping to



use is the same strategy that most revolutionary parties in the Southern African region rely on, on most election cycles. They simply make impressive promises during the election campaign, once they win, they enrich their pockets forgetting the voters and once another election is around the corner, they do minimal populist projects while making more empty promises in the hope that the public is hoodwinked once again. For so long, the strategy has certainly paid dividends but if anything is to be learned from Hichilema's recent victory, the strategy won't work for long. To remain in power, revolutionary parties now need to look for new strategies and there is no better strategy that eclipses fulfilling the electoral promises made during campaigns. If it comes to job creation, then jobs certainly have to be created.

If it comes to stabilising the economy, then clear and straightforward measures need to be taken to ensure that the economy is stable and favourable to all citizens. Corruption and other vices need to be shunned upon and all those implicated should be dealt with accordingly to deter any future offenders.

A few months after Hichilema's impressive victory, South Africans



*President Lungu hands over the instruments of power to his successor, President Hichilema during his inauguration ceremony in Lusaka. Photo AP.*

went to the polls in municipal elections to choose their local representatives. Since the attainment of independence, the ruling party African National Congress (ANC) had always garnered more than 50% of the votes cast nationwide. However, for the first time in the 2021 municipal elections, the ANC failed to reach the 50% mark. This, therefore, clearly demonstrates how the revolutionary

party in South Africa is slowly losing its grip on power. In Malawi, opposition candidate Lazarus Chakwera also managed to defy the odds as he defeated the incumbent from power. Looking at other southern African nations including Zimbabwe, it's quite clear that opposition parties are making significant inroads while revolutionary parties are witnessing their support erode day by day. The

outlook for revolutionary parties at the moment is certainly bleak and nothing other than fulfilling all election promises can save them from relinquishing power. For some however, the horse may already have bolted and nothing more can be done at the moment than to wait for Armageddon day, the election day.





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# Pulling Nigeria from the Brink and Saving the African Giant-The Formulas

By Okey Samuel Mbonu\*

Everyone that cares to know, knows that Nigeria, the giant of Africa, is wounded, and on bended knees right now. The multiple security failures, and various regional agitations, threaten this republic, which geographically sits literally on the heartbeat of Africa. The threats are serious and significant, in ways that Nigeria has never been threatened before.

Because there is no country to take Nigeria's place in negroid Africa, a take-down of Nigeria, by internal forces beyond its control, rather than by external forces, is far more ominous. This takedown of the giant will reverberate and create a great negative impact in Africa as whole; leaving massive numbers of refugees across West and Central Africa. Thus, impacting the region in a far-reaching manner. The takedown of modern Nigeria could mimic the fall of the Ancient Malian or Songhai Empires; each of which encompassed parts of present day Nigeria.

However, could Nigeria go down without a fight? Possibly so, if care is not taken; because the fight will be a fratricide; full of internal violence, blood-letting, and a no holds-barred bazaar of warlords, scattered across the entire West Africa. But will the world watch and see this happen? Again, going by the Rwanda example, as horrific as it is, it is all possible. The reason being because most developed and developing countries have their own troubles, and interests to protect, whether economically, or as a security concern.

If Nigeria could go down due to internal strife, and not external aggression, then how can Nigeria come back from the brink of "apocalypse now"? The answers are surprisingly not too complicated, if right-thinking Nigerians put their minds to it.

**Formula One-Taking-Down Insecurity, Negative Ethnicity,**



*Everyone that cares to know, knows that Nigeria, the giant of Africa, is wounded, and on bended knees right now, says Okey Sam Mbonu.*

## **Cronyism, and Lack of Equity**

In my various sojourns around the world, I have noted that a people do not need to reinvent the wheel to move their societies forward. They just need to pay attention to a little history, both ancient and contemporary. History tells us that empires rise and fall; and they fall mostly because of internal strife.

Internal strife typically begins to strip away the integral and vital cohesion of the body-politic, until the body-politic becomes toxic, riddled with untreatable diseases. This could be likened to how one kills a tree, by stripping away the bark (outer-layer) of the tree. Once the bark of a tree is peeled away, the dermis will no longer protect the tree against elements, insects, and other ravaging animals, and with time, the tree withers and dies.

One of Nigeria's biggest problems is negative ethnicity. The negative ethnicity enables a Commander-in-Chief, or other policy-maker, to turn a blind-eye to massive corruption been

perpetrated by their kinsman, or even political allies. In these cases, rather than bring these people to book. The authority may often ignore the damage been done by these people, because the authority may have their hand in the treasury as well, or is simply being loyal to erstwhile friends.

The way to contain negative ethnicity and cronyism is to show there are no sacred-cows, by making examples of even one's own allies, who are proven to have robbed the public treasury. For example, many members of the ruling Party in Nigeria, have been dragged to court for massive corruption, mostly perpetrated when they served as Governors. Some of the charged former Governors have skirted the system, and used their access to the president's circle, to stay out of jail. However, the anti-corruption agency EFCC, may still bring charges on these people in the near future.

Also, violent herdsmen, bandits and kidnappers, seem to be having

a field day, across northern and middle-belt Nigeria, carrying AK47's, intimidating land owners in the middle-belt, or waylaying travelers in northern highways. Some say, that the lack of aggressive action by law-enforcement agencies, is because of a lack of political will, to confront the problem head-on. Some analysts have also said that northern Nigeria's problem stems from the elites having abandoned the down-trodden for years, while feeding off of the public treasury; and that the chicken has now come home to roost; by way of violence directed to the elites and their extended families, by those the elites failed to educate or empower.

## **Formula Two-Taking-Down Corruption**

What is particularly perplexing in the case of the current government in Abuja, is that the head of that government is not personally reputed to be a corrupt leader, or at least was not alleged to be corrupt up until he got into power. However, what seems

to be his undoing, is his tolerance for corruption, by his allies, or close circle. Thereby taking negative ethnicity and tolerance of corruption to dizzying heights.

Taking on corruption means there should be no sacred-cows. Perhaps, a more equitable-minded leader would ensure that law-enforcement, which is under his command as C-in-C, take a more proactive and aggressive role, in the prosecution of many politically-exposed persons, to prevent the vast corrupt practices ravaging the country now.

## Formula Three-Practice True Federalism

The world has a living example of a practical and practicing democracy today, of which the Republic of Nigeria, has in all wisdom, chosen to adopt their presidential system of government-the United States of America! Common-sense tells us that if you have to practice something that has been done before, you practice it according to the formula in the manual.

In the US, the Federal Government has a highly limited role in the lives of Americans, and in the affairs of the various 50 states. For example, almost every endeavor that the federal government of Nigeria dabbles into today, is a state affair in the United States, from security, to education, to health, to corporate registrations; and even to military operations (every state has a "National Guard"-its own military, which it can activate when the US federal government needs help in foreign wars).

Thus, the US federal government cannot send police to Maryland, or Texas; because everyone of the 50 states, and even their municipalities, have their own police. In-fact, the US federal government has no "police", pursuant to the US Constitution. The FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigations), is not a police force, nor do they show up in any of the 50 US states without an invitation



*In the midst of multiple challenges, the succession of President Buhari looms large.*

by a state authority. Except in very narrow cases, where federal law is implicated, like a matter infringing upon inter-state commerce, per the US Constitution

## Formula 4- Rewrite The Constitution or Restructure by Default

It has been acknowledged that the current Nigerian Constitution, was drafted in the final days of the Abacha military government, and thus the Constitution did not undergo a consultative process, where the people's representatives, came together to discuss and agree on the various clauses and terms in the document. Most pundits and legal analyst from across the country, have agreed that the current Constitution is a flawed document.

If the constitution is rewritten, with the acquiesce of the component parts of the country from every region, then it gives room for a restructure of the country be default. However, the restructure of Nigeria, may not proceed the way most of the proponents are pursuing it. Rather, it will come by various quiet actions by the various states, in security, and

economic activities. Per security, almost every state in Nigeria now has vigilante services, all the way to the local communities. My recent experience showed that the vigilantes are armed too. All the communities need to do now (which some have started doing), is to report criminal matters to the community vigilante, and not to the police. And, as they continue this practice, they will render the federal police redundant.

The next aspect of restructuring will be economic. There is a major legal case between two of Nigeria's states (Rivers and Lagos), and the federal government of Nigeria; whereby the states are seeking to take control of the value-added tax revenues from their various states, which is currently surrendered to the federal government of Nigeria. Because Nigeria purports to practice federalism, it will be extremely difficult for the supreme court of Nigeria to rule on the merits and the states not prevail on this matter.

When the states prevail on this tax matter, then a major milestone of federalism would have been accomplished, and the federal government will get weaker by

default, as it is supposed to be.

Once security, and economic activities fall squarely in the hands of the states, then each state will prosper according to the efforts and the resources coming from each state.

## Final Notes on Restructuring

Contrary to fears that may be harbored by Northern Nigerian leaders, restructuring is in reality not bad for Northern Nigeria. Some northern Nigerian states have humongous deposits of minerals, like gold and other precious metals; which are currently being mined under the table, by private parties, including foreign traders who swoop down in private jets, on bush runways, for pickup runs. Some say some of the governors of these states are in on these lucrative and not too clandestine trade. These minerals are unaccounted for as state revenues. Some of these states will prosper and become meccas for investors after restructuring and divesting toward state's rights.

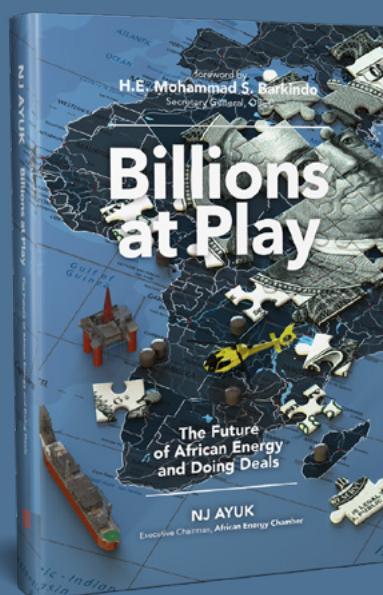
\*Okey Sam Mbonu writes from Washington, DC



# Billions at Play

## The Future of African Energy and Doing Deals

by NJ AYUK



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# Secretary Blinken Lauds Africa as a Major Geopolitical Player in the World

By Prince Kurupati

U.S. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken in a speech during his tour of three African nations (Kenya, Nigeria and Senegal) implored the African continent to realise its full potential and to involve itself more in global issues. At the same time, Secretary Blinken also praised the continent for the concerted efforts it's taking to ensure that it puts itself on a path of sustainable economic development.

Secretary Blinken's tour of Nigeria, Kenya and Senegal was his first trip to Sub-Saharan Africa as the U.S. Secretary of State. During his trip, Secretary Blinken stated that the United States has already identified key areas of mutual cooperation between his country and the African continent. He went on to state that its only through cooperation and integration that global issues such as the current Covid-19 pandemic can be addressed. More pressing issues also such as the climate crisis and the revitalisation of democracies and human rights can also be tackled through cooperation and integration. Against this background therefore, Secretary Blinken said the world and the African continent in particular should view his visit as the genesis of a more robust friendship, cooperation and collaboration between the US and Africa.

According to Secretary Blinken, Africa possesses all the right ingredients required for a fast and smooth economic turnaround. The most important of all is the continent's largely youthful population which provides a solid human resource base and a great market for goods and services. "This is a continent of young people – energised, innovative, hungry for jobs and opportunity. By 2025, more than half the population of Africa will be under age 25... Africa is poised to become one of the world's most important economic regions. When the 54-country African Continental Free Trade Area is fully



Secretary Blinken participates in a signing ceremony with Foreign Minister Geoffrey Onyeama at the Aso Rock Presidential Villa in Abuja. Photo Andrew Harnik, AFP.

implemented, it will comprise the fifth-largest economic bloc in the world, representing a huge source of jobs, consumers, innovation and power to shape the global economy," Secretary Blinken said.

On the prevailing Covid-19 pandemic, Secretary Blinken reaffirmed the African Union's position on the concept of 'no one is safe until all of us are safe'. The U.S. Secretary of State said that cooperation is of utmost importance when it comes to tackling the Covid-19 pandemic. In a statement, Secretary Blinken said, "As we work to end the Covid-19 pandemic and strengthen global health security, we must work closely with the countries of Africa to build public health systems here that can prevent, detect, and respond to future emergencies – because as these past two years have taught us, none of us are completely protected unless all of us are protected."

In Kenya, Secretary Blinken said that the US and the government of Kenya embarked on an initiative to

get more people vaccinated against Covid-19. From his visit, he saw massive progress with the initiative as Kenya has one of the highest numbers of vaccinated people on the African continent. The Covid-19 vaccination success story also applies to many other nations on the continent according to Secretary Blinken. This necessitated by the fact that the US has for long been distributing and aiding the African Union to access vaccine doses on the world market. He went on to state that his country also supports efforts by countries such as "South Africa and Senegal in their work to manufacture vaccines themselves, and we want to invest more in efforts like these, because increasing vaccine production in Africa makes it easier to distribute them, which saves life."

Secretary Blinken also stated that during his stay in Kenya, he successfully negotiated a global agreement to combat ocean plastic pollution. The negotiations also included a project with National

Geographic to empower young people across Africa fighting against the climate crisis. Climate change has been a global issue for several years now and in his speech, Secretary Blinken said that when the US looks at Africa, it sees "not only the stakes of this crisis but also its solutions". Secretary Blinken cited Lake Chad which has "shrunk to one-twentieth the size it was 60 years ago" as the perfect example of climate change stakes. To address this crisis on the continent, the US is aiming to assist climate-smart investments in agriculture, protecting forests and improving climate education. Secretary Blinken said the US is fully behind the African Union's Green Recovery Action Plan "particularly its emphasis on climate finance".

The U.S. Secretary of State also took time to look at the continent's current state of democratisation. The key takeaway was that there is need to revitalise democracies around the continent. Secretary Blinken said there is no better time to do this



than now as the continent is facing many external threats to democracy posed by terrorists and jihadists in many corners of the continent. On this front, Secretary Blinken said its of paramount importance to factor in modern technologies as they can help in addressing democratisation issues.

Secretary Blinken said the democracy success stories in Zambia and Niger provide a beacon of hope but there is no denying the fact that "authoritarianism is on the rise". Technology must be used to defeat authoritarianism by fighting back against "misinformation, stand up for internet freedom, reduce the misuse of surveillance technology, establish standards of responsible conduct in cyberspace".

Secretary Blinken rounded up



*Secretary Blinken with Senegalese President Macky Sall. Africa possesses all the right ingredients required for a fast and smooth economic turnaround, says the US Top Diplomat.*

his speech acknowledging that he is not the first U.S. Secretary of State "to come to Africa and promise different and better engagement."

He also acknowledged that at times "we (US) ask our partners (African states) to help uphold and defend an international system that they don't

feel fully reflects their needs and aspirations. And we're sensitive to centuries of colonialism, slavery, exploitation that have left painful legacies that endure today." Secretary Blinken also said he is aware of the fact that the globalisation wave has necessitated the formation and creation of pacts and friendships between and amongst various countries. When it comes to the US, Secretary Blinken said she is not looking to "limit" African countries' partnerships with other countries, no. Rather, all that the US wants is to make African countries' partnerships with the US "even stronger". To all African nations, Secretary Blinken went on to say, "We don't want to make you choose. We want to give you choices."

## Bombs, Bloodshed and School Attacks: An Unforgettable 2021 for Cameroon

By Boris Esono Nwenfor

As the year 2021 concludes, the situation in Cameroon's North Region and Anglophone Regions are still volatile. For the latter, the crisis that is in its fifth year is still ragging on with constant attacks on schools and killing of school children, attacks of security forces and the latest being in the use of IEDs in towns.

The separatist fighters have become emboldened with their attacks on security forces increasing by the numbers. They have also acquired sophisticated weapons which have caused great damage to Cameroon's defence and security forces. Over 3,000 civilians and security personnel have been killed in the Anglophone Regions since the crisis began in 2016.

Over in the Far North of the country, the Islamist armed group Boko Haram carried out a series of attacks killing scores of civilians. The conflict



*Bamenda residents in protest over the killing of a school girl, such callous killings were rife in the restive English speaking Regions of Cameroon*

between the government forces and Boko Haram has seen thousands of Cameroonians displaced.

Pan African Visions now takes a look at the major highlights and

events that happened throughout the year.

Rise in school attacks, killing of schoolchildren

In 2020, some four attacks were

carried out in educational establishments leading to scores killed and the trend seems to have subsided in the first half of the year 2021. The dream of many to see schools left out of the frequent attack died when on October 14, Enondiale Carolaise, a class one pupil was shot in Buea on her way to school. Barely a month later, Tataw Brandy was killed while on her way back to school in Bamenda, the chief town of the North West.

"Every father who sees this situation cannot stand by and watch, because how can you explain a child being shot on the way back from school. What does it have to do with their battle? We are all going to die but now the police officer is running away why?" an angry inhabitant told journalists in Bamenda.

"We came to pick up the child when the policeman had already fired and run away. Are they going to kill



us like this every day? She and her mother are my neighbours, they live by the roadside.”

After two improvised explosive devices went off in Buea with the second killing a taxi driver, the perpetrators then turned their attention to the University of Buea and on November 10, an attack was carried out with an IED leading to 11 students injured. And on November 24 another attack was carried out at GBHS Ekondo Titi in the South West with five deaths recorded; four students and a teacher.

Raiding of health centres by government forces

Government forces have continuously been accused of “raiding” health facilities in search of separatist fighters who they say are being treated in these facilities. Health centres are impartial places where the wounded are treated no matter their linings but security personnel have continuously accused health personnel of siding with the separatist fighters.

On Sunday, November 14, 2021, at about 1:30 pm, members of the Cameroon military entered the St. Elizabeth Catholic Hospital Shisong or simply Shisong Hospital, armed with sophisticated weapons and all dressed in combat gear, a frightful scene for patients in a hospital setting according to the Director of the

Hospital.

«The Military personnel went through every inch of the Hospital from the consultation room and the exploratory laboratories, to the basement of the Cardiac centre, the emergency unit, the dispensary and from ward to ward in search of separatist fighters,» Dr Sr Anshoma Helen, Director of the Shisong Hospital said in her letter, copied to the Senior Divisional Officer, Bui and the Bishop, Diocese of Kumbo.

«Not finding the Amba

Boys they were looking for, they started insulting and threatening the Reverend Sisters. They even threatened to shoot the sisters in the leg if they did not indicate where they had hidden and are treating the Amba Boys in the Hospital.»

The Military personnel have attacked the Shisong Hospital for the second time this 2021 and for the third time since the crisis started. When the security personnel left according to the Director, they promised that when they come back they will set the hospital “on fire”. «Not satisfied with this explanation, the Military exercised brute force on the Security Officers. They were severely beaten with the butts of the guns and kicked with their military boots. They all sustained injuries and



**The fighting is taking a toll on the Cameroon Military.**

swollen faces...,” She said.

Doctors without Borders suspends operation in North West

After facing countless pressures from the Cameroon government and having been under a ban in the North West Region for nearly eight months, Doctors Without Borders finally pull the plug concerning their activities in the Region.

“We cannot stay any longer in a region where we are not allowed to provide care to the people,” Emmanuel Lampaert, Doctors Without Borders’ Operations Coordinator for Central Africa said in August as he brought the curtains down in their activities in the region.

“Unfortunately, we cannot keep our staff on standby any longer, so we have no choice but to withdraw

our teams. However, will keep a small liaison office in Bamenda, the regional capital, to continue our dialogue with the authorities.”

The international medical agency’s decision came after the government of Cameroon constantly accused them of supporting local armed groups, which MSF rejected. Despite months of exchanges, Cameroonian authorities did not grant MSF the right to resume their activities. And since the NGO seized activities in the region in August, nothing concrete has been made on whether or not activities will resume.

“The suspension significantly reduces access to medical services in an area where communities are badly affected by armed violence,” Emmanuel Lampaert added. “We hope that the provision of medical humanitarian assistance to everyone, without distinction, will still be possible. The people are paying a very heavy price for this situation. If the authorities decide to lift our suspension, we will resume medical activities as soon as possible.”

MSF’s works were not only to those who have been affected directly due to the crisis. MSF’s team treated 180 survivors of sexual violence, provided 1,725 mental health consultations, performed 3,272 surgeries, and transported 4,407 patients by ambulance, more than 1,000 of whom were women about to give birth.



**The crisis in the North West and South West Regions started with peace plants. Photo courtesy.**





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# Africans Making History: 10 Notable Names for 2021

By Prince Kurupati

Every single year, many Africans – old and young, male and female – achieve incredible feats both on the continent and beyond the African borders. These individuals as Times point out are “people whose ideas, example, talent or discoveries transform the world we live in”.

In 2021, there are many Africans who achieved incredible feats. Some conquered the political realm, some championed for great causes such as human rights and climate change, others led the way in science discoveries while others were simply instrumental in their fields of operation from economics, labour, law, engineering, music and sport among many other sectors.

Owing to the huge numbers of African individuals who achieved great feats during the year, it simply is a daunting, overwhelming if not impossible task to expose all those Africans who made and who keep making history. Though this is the case, there are 10 Africans whose work and achievements during 2021 simply deserve due recognition. In this article, we highlight all 10 of them.

**Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala**



*Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala made history during the year as she became the first African to be Director-General of the World Trade Organisation.*

**(Nigeria)**

Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala made history during the year as she became the first African to be Director-General of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The feat showed Africa and the entire world that the continent has able leaders who when given the platform, can go on to achieve incredible things. After her victory, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo

Iweala received rave reviews. Prince Harry and Megan Markle, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex praised the former Nigerian minister of finance as someone who “knows how to get things done”.

John N. Nkengasong (Cameroon)

At the present moment, the world is fighting against the Covid-19 pandemic. During such times, heroes

are needed. Not only can they come up with solutions to prevailing problems, they also do provide inspiration and instil hope in millions of people thereby making it easy for people to survive in the trying times. One hero who has stood up during these trying times is John N. Nkengasong, a Cameroonian virologist and the Director of the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention. Through the Africa CDC, John N. Nkengasong has managed to source the all-important vaccine doses to be used on the African continent. Led research on the Covid-19 pandemic, and all other salient issues around it while also sensitizing the entire continent about the pandemic and what every single person has to do in order to win the fight against Covid-19 as a collective. To many, Dr Nkengasong was pivotal link in the success of the African response. It came without doubt to many when the Biden Administration appointed him to lead the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR)

**Nomcebo Zikode and Master KG (South Africa)**

At a time when the world was struggling to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic with most people falling



*Dr John Nkengasong got great plaudits for leading the African response to COVID-19. Photo Credit Reuters, Tiksa Negeri.*



into depression amongst many other mental health challenges, two South African artists combined to give the world one brilliant piece of art. Nomcebo Zikode and Master KG released the song 'Jerusalema' which went on to become an instant hit across the globe. The song whose lyrics are cut from the same cloth as Jim Reeves' 'This World is Not My Home' song became an anthem the world over uniting everyone during the trying times. The song's success saw it become the most 'Shazamed' song in the world at one point and its elevated Master KG and Nomcebo Zikode to become the first African artists to top the Shazam music charts.



Master KG and Nomcebo Zikode created the iconic global hit 'Jerusalema'.

## Jihan Abass (Kenya)

The insurance sector is one of the many areas that Africa lags behind when compared to other continents. In 2019, Africa's insurance penetration was about 2.7% - a figure significantly lower than the global average of 7.23% as according to Quartz Africa. To help change this, Jihan Abass through her Lami Insurance Technology start-up aims at insulating African businesses from losing their most prized assets and products. Abass said she started Lami Insurance Technology "as a lot of the time, people are relying on single sources of income, but they're not insuring those sources of income so, if one thing goes wrong, they lose everything".

Angelique Kidjo (Benin)

The name 'Angelique Kidjo' is a household name in the arts and music industry in Africa. Though the person behind the name is widely known for her incredible feats over the years, she just doesn't want to be known for her past deeds, no. Rather, she keeps going strong and keeps on championing for what she believes in, juggling various things from producing musical hits, championing for women rights and empowerment to championing for children's rights, Kidjo certainly is engraving her name in the hearts of all Africans. In 2021, Kidjo continued on the same path championing for what she believes is right.

## NJ Ayuk (Cameroon)

Cameroonian lawyer NJ Ayuk has dedicated his life and career to helping entrepreneurs find success and to build the careers of young African lawyers. On the business side, NJ Ayuk's interests largely lie in the oil and gas sector. Ayuk believes that the oil and gas business possess the power to wholly transform the African continent changing its pathway from its current status to a more robust, fast growing and stable (economically) status. To achieve his dreams and goals, Ayuk set up the Pan-African corporate law conglomerate, Centurion Law Group. He also serves as the founder and executive chairman of the African Energy Chamber. NJ Ayuk also shares his views with the entire African continent in his book *Billions at Play: The Future of African Energy and Doing Deals*. Irked by the unceremonious relocation of the African Oil Week from Cape Town South Africa to Dubai, NJ Ayuk and the African Energy Chamber said enough to Africa been taken for granted. The erudite Lawyer rallied partners, crisscrossed the continent and achieved the feat of hosting a ground shaking event in the African Energy Week, in.....Cape Town. Building on the tremendous success of the event, NJ Ayuk and the African Energy Chamber have announced AEW 2022 from October 31 – November 4.

## Khadija Mohammed Elbedweihy

## (Egypt)

The Covid-19 pandemic has made many things complicated and, in some instances, inaccessible. One such instance relates to schools – owing to restrictions put in place by governments, some children are now forced to learn from home. For some subjects, learning from home is possible but when it comes to STEM subjects that really on numerous experiments, learning from home is a difficult thing to do for many children. Recognising this problem, Khadija Mohammed Elbedweihy from Egypt came up with the innovative PraxiLab. PraxiLab makes virtual science labs accessible for educational institutions and schools. Khadija's creative innovation enabled her to scoop the prestigious Jack Ma Africa's Business Heroes (ABH) award. She walked home with a massive 300,000 US prize money.

## Elon Musk (South Africa)

Spaceflight missions are associated with the wealthy and affluent. This necessitated by the fact that only the wealthy and affluent possess the resources to undertake such adventures. Well, to South African born engineer and investor Elon Musk, things need to change when it comes to spaceflight missions. Spaceflight missions shouldn't be a thing restricted for the wealthy and affluent only, even ordinary people

deserve to undertake such adventures. Musk's determination to see this come to fruition has led him through SpaceX to start designing cost-friendly spaceflight missions. Though the plan is still in its infancy, SpaceX' first civilian crew made history recently with their successful launch and more are expected to come in the near future.

## Burna Boy (Nigeria)

Raising the flag high for Africa at the prestigious Grammy Awards 2021 was the Nigerian music sensation Burna Boy. Real name Damini Ogulu, Burna Boy scooped the Best Global Music Album award for his album "Twice as Tall". The win made him the first Nigerian as a solo artist to scoop the award. Burna Boy was elated with the award as he stated that the win was not just for him as an individual but for Africa as a whole. In his acceptance speech, Burna Boy said, "Yes oh! Yes oh! Yes oh! Africa is in the house man, Africa, we're in the house, you get me? This is a big win for my generation of Africans all over the world, and this should be a lesson to every African out there; no matter where you are, no matter what you plan to do, you can achieve it, no matter where you're from, because you are a king."

## Edouard Mendy (Senegal)

From grass to grace is the perfect description of Chelsea star Edouard

Mendy's life thus far. Mendy started his footballing career at Cherbourg in the Championnat National – the third tier of French football. Things however were tough in the early days as at one point he had to register for unemployment benefits. The challenges however failed to derail Mendy from his plans as he kept pushing and pushing. For a brief period, Mendy joined Marseille B side but failed to make a single appearance. Things began to take a positive route in 2016, when he joined Reims and a few years later at the start of the 2019/20 season, he joined Rennes. His impressive performances for Rennes which saw the team qualify for the Champions League for the first time earned him a move to the mighty Chelsea. At Chelsea, Mendy quickly hit the ground running keeping loads of clean sheets in the league and also the Champions League – a move which ultimately helped his team win the Champions League last season.



*In Burna Boy, Africa has a worthy Ambassador on the Global music scene*

## Honourable Mentions

### Farah Emara (Egypt)

Farah Emara grew up with her family, her family owns one of Egypt's largest cold-storage companies. Growing up with her family, Farah observed that about 45% of fresh produce was lost (rotting among other means) during the tedious supply chain process. As such, she designed an innovative solution to the problem through her FreshSource app. The FreshSource app significantly shortens the fresh produce supply chain process

as it eliminates several middlemen. Owing to this, the percentage of food waste significantly drops while at the same time increasing the profit margin of farmers.

### Samantha Shingirai Murozoki (Zimbabwe)

The hard lockdown instituted by the Zimbabwean government to try and combat the spread of Covid-19 did lead to loss of livelihoods among millions of citizens. This necessitated by the fact that the Zimbabwean economy is largely informal hence the hard restrictions made it impossible for citizens to engage in their daily hustles. With most families on the brink of hunger and starvation, one

generous lady by the name Samantha Shingirai Murozoki started a kitchen to distribute free food to the needy in her community (Chitungwiza, Harare) particularly children. The kitchen which started in April 2020 is still going strong till today feeding on average 2100 people daily. The kitchen relies 100% on well-wishers be it companies or individuals.

### Phyllis Omido (Kenya)

The climate crisis is certainly causing havoc on the global stage Africa included. Though this is the case, scepticism is still prevalent when it comes to the question of climate change. Some including society leaders and top politicians believe that climate

change is a hoax meant at derailing developmental projects that they may want to engage in whenever they deem fit. In Kenya, Phyllis Omido an environmental activist is determined to change this by educating the public on the climate crisis while in some instances 'punishing' those who refuse to acknowledge the dangers posed by disregarding environmental concerns. One such instance is a court case she won which saw the court pass a ruling that awarded \$12 million to a community poisoned by lead pollution from a nearby factory located in the middle of Owino Uhuru, a slum near Mombasa.

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# Cameroon: Anglophone Crisis And The Hypocrisy Of The International Community

By Andrew Nsoseka

In the face of the five years and running Anglophone crisis in Cameroon – pitting Southern Cameroons' Separatists against the central government, the international community has largely proven to be of no help, or worse still- taken a hypocritical stance. In what looks like an isolationist stance, the international community has taken a comfortable position from where it only issues statements of condemnations whenever a macabre incident occurs.

As such, the locals in the two afflicted regions who had rightly or wrongly believed in the powerfulness of the international community have had their cries falling on deaf ears. It is normal to see locals in grief calling on the UN, the US, Britain, France, Germany and other big powers in the international scene to record the gruesome acts and come to their aid. Gruesome act after gruesome act, players in the international scene issue "strong" condemnations which have changed nothing, as the rights abusers are having a swell time creating communities of survival of the fittest with no accountability for the gross human rights abuses.

Unlike many states with large resources to pursue such an expensive and unnecessary option like war, to dialogue, the Cameroon government relies heavily on donations and loans to finance its projects and most of this come from the big guns in the international community. On the other hand, most separatist leaders, especially those financing the war in Anglophone regions of the Cameroon are lodged in western countries from where they raise finances to finance the war.

What is common here, is the heavy reliance of the two parties on strong actors in the international community in order to pursue the war option. It is thus only logical that if targeted sanctions are strategically put in place by the international community



*Secretary General Guterres receives a gift from President Paul Biya. The UN has played a very passive when it comes to addressing the crisis in Cameroon*

on the hardliners and benefactors of the war, the road to peace may be shortened. This will especially be to the advantage of the civilians who are paying heavily and daily for the war option. On rolling bases, many are left homeless, orphaned. Parents are burying their children. Small and large businesses are crumbling and falling out of business. Thousands of children are deprived of education and thousands of others are displaced to places where they have to start all over again. In a country where many were under the poverty line, the war is only making the situation worse.

While the normal civilians are those shouldering the real impact of the war, the shot-callers and hardliners who are bent on speaking only with iron and blood are far off in Yaounde and other places around the world, from where they drink to the hardship and misfortune brought by the war to the people.

In a world where so much attention is on human rights violations, and in a crisis where state forces have led a

war campaign in complete disregard of human rights and war ethics, with separatists on their side committing barbaric atrocities that go contrary to human rights provisions, the international community should not be seen condoning such. The international community should graduate from only backing, to biting I other to deter licensed killers from abridging the lives of many.

In a crisis that is said to be highly underreported, many atrocities still surface to shock the world. From the raiding of villages, cutting down of food crops, burning down of hundreds of villages, barbaric butchering of people, killing of school children, killing of teachers, kidnappings for ransom, arbitrary arrests and detention, burning of elderly people alive, the people have witnessed enough to leave them traumatised for a lifetime.

A situation which could seem like a tale to many a few years is now their reality. The people are getting numb to pain and atrocities. In most parts

of Anglophone Cameroon, a gun battle could spark out between the belligerents and result in deaths, and when the guns go silent minutes after, people freely resume their activities walking pass dead bodies,- appearing undisturbed.

In other gross situations, locals have stroll pass dead and decomposing bodies abandoned on streets, and only decided to bury the remains when the stench becomes unbearable. There are cases where grandmothers have been left behind to dig graves and bury young youngsters killed in the war. In most, if not all clans in Anglophone regions, the burial is left to men, but in the face of the Anglophone crisis, women have had to wade in, as the men and youths are constantly on the run. This has been the life of millions of people trapped by the war, and yet there is no sign of the war ending soon, as both sides drum for more to come, with the crisis moving from one phase to another.

With experts stating that such conflicts often end up on the dialogue



table, critics of the war have argued that there is no point to be made by leaving more corpses and hardening the hearts of many before the much desired dialogue is initiated. While the separatist say they are open to dialogue, the government of Cameroon has continued to maintain that they don't know who to dialogue with because of the several leaderships of the Anglophone separatists. Many have dismissed government's claims as flimsy given that they cannot claim not to know who to dialogue with yet they are on the field every day fighting them.

Of recent, was the much heralded Toronto Retreat of Southern Cameroons leaders, be there of the various separatist factions, Civil Society, religious bodies and moderates. Being the first of its kind, the retreat provided a unique opportunity for the leaders to chart a common path. As such, if such initiatives are encouraged by the various actors in the international community, it will help to speed up the much desired peace process.

An important part though, has to be about listening to the people who are living and feeling the impact of the crisis. It could be disastrous to only listen to the leaders of armed



*An abandoned school in anglophone Cameroon .The crisis have had a serious toll on education, Photo credit Giles Clarke,Getty Images.*

groups alone, without giving a voice to those going through the realities of war and alleged marginalisation. Already, several surveys have been conducted to get the views of ordinary Anglophones in the crisis regions, but such have always been shelved. An ironclad way out the crisis will be a dialogue with neutral observers with no taboo subjects and which will eventually result in a reduction

in hostilities and the people given a choice to decide their fate.

Instead of reducing itself to issuing condemnations with no punitive measures for culprits of rights violations, the international community should be able to make the war mongers on the both sides to feel a pinch of what they advocate for. Targeted sanctions could do the magic, and maybe force those

benefiting from the war to see what they stand to lose if they keep drumming for war and abridging the lives of young people who are dying as either separatist fighters or state troops. They population that has suffered most too will have an opportunity to dream of a tomorrow where they can focus on how to build their lives, and not just thinking of how to stay alive. \_\_\_\_\_

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# Mozambique Moves Ahead With New Oil And Gas Wells Amid Pressure From Environmental Groups

*Mozambique has decided to go ahead with new oil and gas exploration projects amidst strong pressure from environmental groups advocating disinvestment in the area due to climate change. However, the government believes that these projects are important to lift the country out of poverty - a position supported by the International Monetary Fund. Oil giants like Total Energies, ExxonMobil, Eni, Sasol, Shell, BP and China's CNOOC are ready to move in.*

By Jorge Joaquim

Huge reserves of natural gas have already been found in offshore areas in the Rovuma Basin off the coast of the northern province of Cabo Delgado. In the south of the country, the Pande and Temane onshore fields, in Inhambane province, are already being exploited by the South African petro-chemical giant Sasol. For more exploration of hydrocarbons, Mozambique's National Petroleum Institute (INP) has launched the sixth licencing round with 16 new blocks covering an area of over 92,000 square kilometres.

Oil companies that have previously expressed interest in the new round include TotalEnergies, ExxonMobil, Eni, Sasol, Shell, BP and China's CNOOC. Pre-qualification is open until 28 February 2022, with the results of that process due to be announced on 31 March. Full proposals are due by 31 August 2022, with results to be announced on 30 November 2022.

Winning bidders will have up to eight years to explore their licence areas, and if reserves are discovered, will have two years



to complete a commercialisation assessment. Consortia which move ahead to production will have a 30-year maximum exclusive right for production, and a non-exclusive right to build and operate transport and distribution infrastructure, including oil and gas pipelines.

## Sleep on Wealth or 'Accelerate' Climate Change?

Expectations are high that the new round will accelerate socioeconomic development in the country and raise the profile of Mozambique internationally. It is expected that new projects will generate more state revenue, with taxes on production set at 6% for gas and 10% on crude oil.

According to INP chairperson Carlos Zacarias, "with this tender, we intend to assess the national petroleum potential, and the resources discovered will be made available to society to drive Mozambique's socio-economic development. We aim to increase the availability of hydrocarbon resources for use as raw materials for electricity generation, fertilisers, and

fuels."

The politics behind the exploration and exploitation of natural gas is highly charged. Some argue that gas is a transition fuel offering huge improvements over coal and diesel, whilst others see it as impeding the energy transition by competing with renewable energy for investment.

While acknowledging the increasing pressure that the climate agenda has put on investment in fossil fuels, Mozambique understands gas will be part of the energy transition.

"Natural gas presents itself as the alternative for the global energy transition and we see that the projects in Mozambique are at the heart of the concessionaires' strategy", said the minister of mineral resources and energy, Max Tonela.

*Attempts to limit gas in Mozambique are not sensible -*





IMF

Attempts to limit gas in Mozambique are «not sensible», IMF representative in Mozambique, Alexis Meyer-Cirkel, said in November. «I think that this discussion, preventing Mozambique from developing this wealth, disproportionately penalises a country that has not contributed to the creation of the problem and that is a poorer country,» he stressed. He also said that Mozambique's carbon emissions are very low and that it would be unfair to prevent this type of project. Meyer-Cirkel recognised the effects of climate change but said that the consumption of fossil fuels «is a problem to be solved globally» and not at the expense of a single country, adding that the transition to renewable energy will take time

The IMF has always promoted gas and other big resource projects in Mozambique, but Meyer-Cirkel went on to raise some questions. He showed the slide below, predicting that in the post-Covid period African non-resource countries are recovering well, but resource countries are not. African resource countries are predicted to lose 2.9% of per capital GDP between 2019 and 2022, while non-resource countries are expected to gain 3.8% of GDP - a huge difference. The reason, he explained, is that non-resource countries have more diversified and flexible economies and can better respond to difficulties.

The IMF has also voiced high-profile support for the Mozambican gas projects, with Abebe Aemro Selassie, IMF director of the African department, commenting on Mozambique's economic prospects in November that, «LNG can be a game changer for economic transformation, development and inclusive growth, potentially lifting millions out of poverty if the right policies are put in place.»

However, civil society groups remain highly sceptical of the 'gas-as-development' narrative. A report co-published by Friends of the Earth (FoE) International, FoE France and FoE Mozambique argued that the discovery of gas in northern



Mozambique a decade ago has already resulted in worsening conditions for Mozambicans: «The gas boom has come with increased conflict, violence, corruption and social inequality... The major gas companies are in a position of power and can set the rules and grab the profits.»

Campaign group won the right to take the UK government to court over its decision to provide over \$1bn in loans and guarantees to Mozambique LNG. Friends of the Earth argues that the UK's support for the gas export project goes against the UK government's commitments under the Paris Agreement to limit global warming. The gas produced by the project will, when burned, produce emissions equivalent to the total emissions from the aviation sector for all EU member states combined, FoE said.

UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson reportedly felt he was «bounced into» the decision to approve funding by UK Export Finance (UKEF), the UK's export credit agency (ECA) for the project in July 2020. He called for an immediate review into the ECA's lending policy on fossil fuels which led to a decision in December 2020 to end all public financing for coal, oil and gas projects overseas.

If Friends of the Earth wins its case over the Mozambique project,

it believes the UK government could be forced to withdraw the \$300 million in loans and \$850m in direct guarantees that it committed to the project in July 2020, as it would no longer be consistent with UK government policy.

**Peace is a necessary condition for investment**

Besides the battle with environmental activists, the Mozambican government is facing terrorist groups in the oil and gas exploration zones. The situation is embarrassing. French oil company Total halted construction work and pulled many of its staff out of Afungi following a terrorist attack on 1 January on the resettlement town of Quitunda, a new town built to house people resettled from the areas of the Peninsula where the gas liquefaction plants will be built. In March, it planned to resume work but terrorists attacked the town of Palma which lies 15 kilometres from Afungi and within the 25-kilometre security perimeter. During the attack, over 30,000 residents fled the onslaught and dozens of local people and foreign contractors were murdered.

However, since then the Mozambican armed forces together with their allies from the Southern Africa Development Community

Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM) and Rwanda have continued to make progress in returning security to the areas affected by terrorist attacks.

«Good progress is being made» on improving the security situation in Cabo Delgado province, where insurgent attacks caused TotalEnergies to step back from its project, said in November ExxonMobil's head of upstream oil and gas, Liam Mallon, after a meeting with Mozambican president Filipe Nyusi. «We continue to monitor that situation very closely,» he continued. «I think both Area 1 and Area 4 essentially are in a pause situation, while that situation is improved.»

«We want a situation of sustainable security that will allow all the planned investment projects in that area to take place,» said the minister of mineral resources and energy, Max Tonela.

However, the Italian energy company ENI has confirmed that it will start the production and export of liquefied natural gas (LNG), from its floating platform off the coast of the northern Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado, as from mid-2022. Unlike the onshore LNG projects, the floating platform has not been affected by the terrorist attacks in Cabo Delgado.



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# CEMAC Ministers Endorse African Energy Week 2022

Announced during the CEMAC Energy and Business Forum organised by PRO MEET UP AND LEARN and ML Consulting on 30 November, ministerial representatives from central-African countries committed their endorsement towards African Energy Week 2022.

Ministerial representatives from the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) countries of Equatorial Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, Chad, and Cameroon, announced during the CEMAC Energy and Business Forum organised by PRO MEET UP AND LEARN and ML Consulting held on 29-30 November 2021 in Congo-Brazzaville, their commitment to endorsing African Energy Week (AEW) 2022, taking place in Cape Town, South Africa, on October 31 – November 4.

Demonstrating their commitment to Africa's energy development, Ministers from the region have also confirmed that National Oil Companies (NOCs) from the CEMAC region will not only attend AEW 2022, but will also work on signing contracts and getting deals done at Africa's



*Ministerial representatives from Central African countries committed their endorsement towards African Energy Week 2022.*

premier energy event – facilitating

a platform through which NOCs and regional stakeholders can engage in interactive discussions and advance cooperation and partnerships while moving the continent towards a new era of integration and collaboration in a bid to form impactful relationships that will drive the continent's energy

growth.

NOCs have taken on a more proactive role in Africa's energy development, demonstrating that they serve as key drivers of expansion and progress. With many NOCs undergoing structural reforms and realigning industry targets, Africa's NOCs are well-positioned to drive

investment and development. In this regard, AEW 2022 will provide NOCs with the opportunity to network and form intra-African partnerships.

"Recognizing collaboration and cooperation as a platform through which we can have an honest discussion on improving business development for energy companies in the region will improve the ease of doing business for regional NOCs," stated NJ Ayuk, Executive Chairman of the African Energy Chamber.

Home to some of Africa's biggest project developments, the CEMAC Region represents some of the richest areas in Africa regarding natural resources. AEW 2022 will provide a platform for cross-border collaboration, strengthening regional cooperation, and improving the operating environment for domestic and global companies.

AEW 2022, taking place on October 31 – November 4, is the AEC's annual conference, exhibition and networking event. AEW 2021 unites African energy stakeholders with investors and international partners to drive industry growth and development and promote Africa as the destination for energy investments.



*Gabriel Mbaga Obiang Lima, Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons was one of the high profile leaders at AEW 2021.*

## West African Nations Bring Proposal for a Pandemic Insurance Fund to the World Health Assembly

*Several health ministers of the ECOWAS nations ask for a World Health Assembly vote on principles of vaccine equity and the creation of a global pandemic insurance fund.*



*Day Africa, headed by Zacharia Kafuko of Zambia, brought the letter to the attention of the West African Health Organization and helped coordinate plans to sign.*

**G**ENEVA, SWITZERLAND—Several health ministers of the West African Health Organization, led by Director General Professor Stanley Okolo of Nigeria, will request a vote on the creation of an international pandemic insurance fund, along with other principles of global vaccine access, at a special session of the World Health Assembly November 29 – December 1 2021. In order to fund the pandemic insurance fund, the proposal calls upon the G20 countries to collectively donate \$10 billion per year, or about 0.01% of global GDP.

This proposal is framed in an open letter to Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, director general of the World Health Organization. Dr. Mosoka Fallah of Liberia led the drafting effort, and it was signed by many African researchers and veterans of the 2014 Ebola epidemic, along with other international leading scientists.

In addition to advocating for the creation of a pandemic insurance fund, the letter calls upon all countries with surplus vaccines to donate them to COVAX or directly to countries in need and calls upon

pharmaceutical companies to set up vaccine development facilities in low- and middle-income countries.

High-income countries contain 16% of the world's population but purchased 50% of the immediately available vaccine supply. Allowing the virus to spread unchecked through most of the world has been not only a humanitarian crisis, but also debilitating to efforts to fight the virus, as it mutated and became more dangerous. This situation must not be repeated in future pandemics, and the World Health Assembly should commit to the goals outlined in the

letter.

1Day Africa, headed by Zacharia Kafuko of Zambia, brought the letter to the attention of the West African Health Organization and helped coordinate plans to sign. 1Day Africa is dedicated to the development of a self-sufficient African medical community and to bolstering and promoting African medical and scientific research.

\*1Day Sooner is a non-profit organization advocating for people who want to participate in high-risk, high-reward medical trials.

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# Decades After, Will Cameroonians Finally Enjoy Universal Health Coverage In 2022?

By Andrew Nsoseka

It has been two decades since the Biya regime in Cameroon promised citizens their first universal health coverage. Prior to the year 2000, the regime ran a campaign dubbed "health for all by the year 2000". Then, it sounded like today's "emergence by 2035".

Over 20 years after the much trumpeted "health for all" campaign, Cameroonians are still waiting for the same thing which was re-promised to them again by the very President, Paul Biya.

In 2017, 17 years after Cameroonians should have been enjoying health for all, Biya again made another promise, saying that all Cameroonians will be provided a Universal Health Coverage, UHC. Youngsters in Cameroon who heard of the promised UHC leaped in joy, not knowing that it was already promised to those before them, and that many had died hoping that the promise will materialise for them to enjoy good health coverage.

This time around, the contract to implement the UHC plan has been awarded to a private partner, Société santé Universelle Cameroun, SUCAM. After the announcement of

the UHC plan by President Biya in 2017, many waited for the pilot phase of the health coverage plan to begin the next year, 2018. Unfortunately, it was like most other promises delayed till date. In Cameroon's 2022 agenda, the UHC pilot phase is expected to kick off, and many are expecting to see whether it will at last come to fruition.

According to government's draft

financial agenda for 2022, the UHC plan's pilot phase will be launched and will prioritise pregnant women and children below five years. This was revealed by Cameroon's PM, Chief Dr Joseph Dion Ngute, as he presented Cameroon's draft budget in parliament on November 26, 2021.

Asked about the timeline for the launch of the UHC, Cameroon's Health Minister, Dr Manaouda

Malachie told Douala based Radio Balafon that it will be in 2022, but that he could not give specific dates. «I can't give a specific date but I think that in the first half of 2022, we will at least launch the pilot phase," he said.

If realised, Cameroon's UHC will go a long way to achieving one of the sustainable development goals, which is that of universal health coverage for all citizens by the year 2030.

As a country with a chunk of its people without health insurance, a health coverage for all could go a long way to boost the people's standards of living. In Cameroon, thousands still die yearly, from treatable illnesses like malaria, typhoid, and a host of others, because they cannot afford the cost of treatment. This has pushed many to rely heavily on traditional cures which are not often reliable due to the fact that they are not often scientifically tested and approved to be used in the treatment of the various diseases its promoters claim to be treating. With the unavailability of healthcare for most, the labour force in Cameroon is also weakened spiralling in snail-pace economic growth.

Because of the high cost of medical bills and other expenses that come



Public Health Minister Manaouda Malachie says pilot phase will be launched in 2022



A file picture of the Yaounde General Hospital. Access to health services and care remains a huge challenge for Cameroonians



with it, Cameroonians in large numbers have embraced traditional concoctions, especially those its promoters often project as curing almost every disease. This has cost many their lives, since they cannot afford good and contemporary treatment in hospitals. Another side effect of the high cost of health expenses in Cameroon, is the new trend whereby locals now troop churches whose ministers claim they can use divine power, alongside branded "holy water" and "anointed oils" to cure diseases that should be attended to by experts in hospitals. It is a common sight to see relatives of patients who have been referred to expert hospitals for surgeries, rather cuing up in lines to have a "man of

God" heal their sick, instead of taking such a person to a hospital.

Recently, Société santé Universelle Cameroun the private contractor selected by the government to implement the UHC in Cameroon, presented the equipment to be used to enrol the population in the system. The success of the UHC depends so much on this technical expertise, to put in place a workable system that can stand the pressures and need of Cameroonians. Many are watching and hoping that this time around, unlike before, the government goes on to deliver on its promise, for all to be able to enjoy universal health coverage.

In a research published in the Universal Journal of Health by

Chenjoh Nde, Alice Raymond, Yauba Saidu, Ndong Ignatius Nzuobontane, Tabi Atemkeng and Fon Mbacham, titled, "Reaching Universal Health Coverage by 2035: Is Cameroon on Track?", it is revealed that about 70 percent of healthcare expenditure in Cameroon is borne by households. The research also revealed that 64 percent of Cameroonians are unable to access healthcare, because they perceive the cost of health to be higher than what they can afford.

By adopting the Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs in 2012, Cameroon committed to among other things, make healthcare available to all its citizens. Cameroon followed the trend already followed by many African countries who still lagged in

healthcare delivery.

Having waited for over 20 years for what could serve as health for all, through a universal health scheme, all eyes will again be on the government in 2022 to see it put into motion a plan that will first provide healthcare for pregnant women as well as children under five years. There will serve as those who will test the workability of scheme, and if successful, other segments of the population will be fitted in as the plan takes shape. With similar promises having failed before, many can only be convinced when they see the UHC in motion and not just been defended in parliament, or promised in speeches.

## 2021: For Nigeria, It's A Year Of Remaining On The Edge

By Richard Mammah

The outgoing year 2021 has been a mixed bag for Nigeria. But given the avalanche of what the average Nigerian has had to put up with, it is safe to say that indeed, it has been a year of continuing to live on the edge.

### Security sector

Here indeed is a good place to begin given that the first promise of the Muhammadu Buhari presidency was that it would guarantee that Nigerians sleep with their eyes closed.

The evidence from the field however is that, on the security flank, the activities of insurgents, bandits and criminals of all hues and sizes continued to make headline news all through the year even as pressure continued to mount of the Muhammadu Buhari presidency to deal even more frontally with the challenge.

Though some respite seems to have come with the arrival of the Super Tucano aircraft that had been ordered from the United States during the Donald Trump presidency, alongside other heavy grade military equipment, the soft underbelly of the nation's security infrastructure has however continued to rest on



*The arrest and ongoing trial of Nnamdi Kanu has generated tensions in some parts of the polity.*

inadequate intelligence to pre-empt the activities of these bands of insurgents as well as their continuing to take advantage of both the religious and geo-political faultlines in the country and the parlous economic situation that continues to provide them fertile recruitment ground to restock their ranks.

Within the year also, a spate of deliberately orchestrated prison attacks, pointed to the fact that insurgents may have also continued to focus on that sector as a critical recruitment centre for some of their elite actors.

And in what was to look as a capitulation of sorts to months and

years of advocacy on the subject, the Buhari administration finally went to seek the leave of court and two bandit groups were formally designated as terrorist organizations.

However, in what the administration may have reckoned to be a victory of sorts but which some others saw as an expression of

poor strategic security and political management, there was also the abduction in faraway Kenya of the leader of the proscribed Independent People of Biafra, IPOB, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu and his repatriation to Nigeria for the continuation of his trial which had stalled at a Federal High Court in Abuja, following his forced flight out of the country.

While the trial process continues in fits and starts, it has become quite clear that at the end of the day, the issues would still have to be resolved at the political tables. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of the ubiquitous 'unknown gunmen' continues even as complaints continue to trickle in as to the allegedly untoward conduct of some of the security forces deployed to the South East region.

Says Ikem Enendu:

'I don't know what exactly the thinking was in moving to abduct and bring back Nnamdi Kanu to the country. But that has not solved the challenge of the unknown gunmen or ensured the much needed peace and civility in the region.'

## Economy

On the economic front, after years of clearly underwhelming performance, there was some reprieve of sorts



*A hard fought victory in Anambra State for former Central Bank Governor Charles Soludo.*

as the country formally exited its second recession in the Muhammadu Buhari years. This was seemingly corroborated by data from the National Bureau of Statistics, NBS, signaling that there has also lately been declining inflation though the continuing spike in notably food, and several other associated consumer prices makes many to scoff at the numbers from the Bureau.

This has also not been helped by vagaries in the exchange rate position where the value of the Naira to the dollar has risen above N500 to a

dollar and the Central Bank of Nigeria is burdened with having to continue to throw in tons of cash to help defend the Naira.

## Politics

Politics is high up on the antenna of many in Nigeria and with the 2023 polls fast approaching, it expectedly got a lot of attention in the outgoing year.

In the South Eastern state of Anambra, after concerns over whether the scheduled off season gubernatorial polls would hold, the

Independent National Electoral Commission was able to pull off the conduct of the contest, leading to the emergence of former Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN Governor, Professor Chukwuma Soludo of the All Progressives Grand Alliance, APGA as Governor-Elect in the business-savvy state. Notably also, INEC also had the opportunity to test run its Biometric Verification Authentication System, BVAS which it has recently deployed to improve the integrity of the polls process. Ahead of the 2023 polls, INEC still has off-season gubernatorial polls to conduct in Ekiti and Osun and the hope is that it would further strengthen its processes on those occasions.

But there are other issues, one of which is the statutory revision of the Electoral Bill. Already passed by both chambers of the National Assembly, frenetic lobbying is going on now to get the president to assent to it or decline assent. There is also side talk about whether the lawmakers would be able to find the muscle to override his veto should he decide to decline giving his assent. The evidence from the field says that on present score, they cannot.

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# Africa RISE Hits The Ground Running

By Ajong Mbapndah L

**A**frica RISE (Reform for Investment and Sustainable Economies) is a demand-led technical assistance facility that supports inclusive and sustainable growth and decent work in Eastern Africa, Southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean region. Funded by the European Union, the project

promotes macro-economic policy and regulatory reform to create a business environment that encourages investment. Although Africa RISE only became fully operational in April of this year it already has more than twenty projects underway across the continent, with others in preparation.

In the following Q & A John Clifford, Africa RISE team Leader sheds light on the vision, projects, strides, and impact that ARISE is creating in parts of Africa where it currently has operations.

**Could we start with an introduction of Africa RISE, when was it created and what does it do?**

Launched in January 2021, Africa RISE (Reform for Investment and Sustainable Economies) is a demand-driven technical assistance facility that supports inclusive and sustainable growth and decent work in Eastern Africa, Southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean region. It promotes macro-economic policy and regulatory reform to create a business environment that encourages investment. The facility is funded by the European Union.

**In what way do services offered by Africa RISE fit in the current development trend across Africa?**

Africa RISE is one element of the European Union's development portfolio, so we are very closely aligned with the overall strategic objectives of the EU, and issues such as sustainable growth, climate resilience and the green economy are central to what we do. Trade promotion



John Clifford is Africa RISE team Leader.

and facilitation are also high on our agenda, as increased trade, both within Africa and beyond, can drive growth and create employment. What this means in practice is that a substantial amount of our work so far has concerned trade promotion or the reduction of barriers to trade. E-commerce and online business have featured strongly too. We have a very broad mandate but the common factor in everything we do is the need to increase investment and generate decent jobs. The European Union has allocated substantial funds to support investment across Africa, so part of our work is to help identify opportunities for those funds to be used effectively.

**May we know some of the significant achievements of Africa RISE since its creation?**

Africa RISE only became fully operational in April of this year but already we have more than twenty projects underway, with others in

preparation. These initiatives have been selected based on several criteria, primarily their alignment with Africa RISE objectives and their potential to have long-term impact.

The first of our projects have just been completed. As an example, one of these will be used as the basis for support worth millions of Euros from the EU and several individual member states for the creation of a single digital market throughout the countries of the East African Community. Once operational, the single market will benefit businesses and consumers across the region, enhance economic growth and generate millions of jobs.

**In what parts of Africa does Africa RISE have operations?**

Africa RISE operates in 25 countries: Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Eritrea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi,

Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

**What are some of the challenges faced in doing business or providing services across Africa?**

Africa has the potential to become a major global economic force, but there are numerous challenges to business development. In many of our target countries the operating environment for businesses is difficult, with a lack of clarity about regulations, and administrative procedures that are sometimes long and complex. This does not create the confidence in businesses for them to invest, thus hindering economic growth and employment creation. On top of this, the continuing COVID-19 pandemic has had a severe impact, both economically and socially, all around the world and Africa has suffered as much as if not more than other regions. At the same time, there is a need to provide immediate responses to the COVID-19 crisis and to build the tools for a long-term and medium-term development strategy. The role of Africa RISE technical assistance is to facilitate this transition and help countries overcome the obstacles they face. One major problem facing businesses on the continent is the lack of access to finance. This difficulty has been exacerbated by COVID-19 so Africa RISE is providing technical assistance in several countries to identify where and how the European Union can bring its financial resources to bear to tackle this issue.

**Could you shed some light on some of the major projects that Africa RISE is working on across Africa?**

As I said earlier, we have more than twenty projects currently running, with others in the pipeline, and I have already mentioned the project on the EAC single digital market.



In Botswana, we have been working with “SmartBots”, a Presidential initiative to establish Botswana as a “smart society”, making maximum use of information technologies to develop the economy and improve standards of living for the population. This is one element of the wider target of transforming Botswana into a high-income country by 2036. Our work with SmartBots is in two parts: one is to develop a national innovation framework, which will improve the effectiveness of the innovation ecosystem in Botswana. This will help small businesses to innovate and become more competitive, promoting inclusive and sustainable growth in Botswana. Our second project is the development of a digital entrepreneurship package for women. Women generally face greater obstacles to participation in the digital economy than those faced by men. This package will help to overcome some of these obstacles and ensure that women are able to compete on a level playing field.

In Namibia, our consultants are assessing the country's e-commerce readiness to enable it to better engage in and benefit from e-commerce. One of the initial findings is that the majority of owners and workers of small businesses are from vulnerable socio-economic groups and that 60% of this group are women. Wider adoption of e-commerce will therefore have to ensure that the needs of these businesses are fully taken into account so that they are not left behind by the digital revolution.

This also highlights the potential of e-commerce development to benefit women and vulnerable groups if it is equitably implemented. The experience of Botswana may be useful in this respect.

The last project I want to mention is a little bit unusual. It is a feasibility study in Mauritius into the establishment of a facility for the recycling of end-of-life or “total loss” vehicles, more commonly known as a scrapyard. Scrap vehicles are a major issue on the island, for both environmental and road safety reasons. The feasibility study is looking into the establishment, operation and management of a vehicle dismantling and parts recycling facility. The team has been looking at the physical infrastructure needed for dealing with these scrap vehicles – which may involve existing businesses and facilities – and the regulatory position – for example, licensing requirements for hazardous materials handling and disposal. The recommendations will be presented to the Mauritian Government shortly so that it can decide on its preferred option and proceed to implementation.

## **What are some of the factors taken into consideration when making a choice of projects or country to work for Africa Rise?**

Africa RISE supports requests from government and business groups for technical assistance aligned to the EU partnership with Africa on sustainable investment and jobs.



**Botswana women entrepreneurs.**

Our overall aims are to create a more conducive, sustainable and inclusive business environment, help strengthen political and policy dialogue, and stimulate investment. In all of this, we remain conscious of the ultimate objective, which is to create decent jobs for more people. We provide technical expertise to unlock or trigger investments.

As far as the choice of countries is concerned, this is not a matter for negotiation; we are restricted to the twenty-five countries that I mentioned earlier. In contrast, the range of projects is quite diverse. In addition to the projects already mentioned, we are working on standards, especially relating to food products, trade promotion, public-private dialogue and renewable energy, amongst others. So, as you can see, we operate in many fields. The key selection criteria are, firstly, the potential to stimulate investment and create employment, and secondly, alignment with the priorities agreed between the European Union and the Government in the country or region of the project.

We receive and respond to many requests. Of course, not all are approved for implementation, but we give consideration to every request that we receive. I invite potential partners to visit our website <https://www.eu-africa-rise.com/> to learn more about the Africa RISE programme.

## **Talking of the investment climates in parts of Africa**

## **that you operate in, what recommendations do you have for governments to make it better?**

Each of the countries we operate in has its own specific characteristics so it's difficult to generalise. I would make just one point, though. Many of the countries covered by Africa RISE occupy very low positions in the World Bank Doing Business rankings. This is something that can be improved – and only the governments can make this improvement. So, my recommendation would be to make the business environment more friendly to businesses, especially small businesses. This does not mean scrapping all regulations, but it does mean making the system simpler and clearer. The less time that a small business owner has to spend dealing with regulations, the more time he or she can spend on doing real business.

## **Any other big projects of Africa Rise coming up that you want to share as we wrap up this interview?**

We don't have any great flagship project in our pipeline at the moment. We do have a number of projects working through our systems that we expect to get underway in the New Year. They are, for the most part, similar to the work that we are already doing. Most of our work is not especially glamorous but it's not intended to be. We like to think that what we do provides part of the foundations on which the big projects are built.



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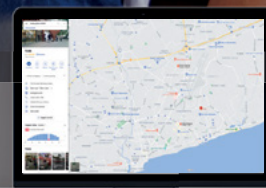
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# What does Africa need to bridge gender gap?

## Interview with Kathleen Sherwin

By Maniraguha Ferdinand

This week, Rwanda was announced as the first African country to host the International Women Deliver Conference, a platform that deals with problems such as gender equality, women's access to finance and reproductive health services among others.

It is an imperative move for Africa, a continent which lags behind when it comes to gender equality. According to African Development Bank, African women spend way too much time at unproductive work, such as fetching water and wood. They work 50% longer hours than men, but it doesn't tighten the gap when it comes to economic gains.

Pan African Visions Magazine held an exclusive interview with Kathleen Sherwin, Interim President & CEO of Women Deliver where she explained in details what she finds useful for Africa to bridge gender gap.

**PAV: Why was Rwanda chosen as the first African host of the 2023 Women Deliver Conference?**

Kathleen Sherwin:

To begin with, the Rwandan parliament comprises of 60% women in leadership. This is far more notable than any other country in Africa and the country serves as a case study for many African and global nations.

The country's new constitution, passed in 2003, decreed that 30 percent of parliamentary seats be reserved for women. The government also pledged that girls' education would be encouraged. That women would be appointed to leadership roles, like government ministers and police chiefs.

In the 2003 election, 48 percent of parliamentary seats went to women. In the next election 64 percent.

Today Rwandan politics is cited



Kathleen Sherwin, Interim President & CEO of Women Deliver.

as a model of gender inclusiveness and a reflection of the importance of ensuring that SDG 5, Gender Equality, and women and girls' empowerment is achieved towards the sustainable development of Africa. A key enabler of this has been strategic policies that have been implemented by the government and a friendly political environment.

**PAV: The conference comes when the world is still battling COVID-19. What are the outcomes one can expect from the conference that benefit women?**

Kathleen Sherwin: The pandemic has further exacerbated gender inequalities for girls and women. For example, it has hampered access to essential sexual and reproductive health services, and led to an increase in unintended pregnancies, maternal deaths, and unsafe abortion, particularly in low-and-middle income countries (LMICs).

Evidence collected by UNFPA and partners from 115 LMICs in early 2021 suggests an estimated 12 million women may have been unable to access family planning services as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, with disruption of supplies and services lasting an average of 3.6 months.

As a result of these disruptions, as many as 1.4 million unintended pregnancies may have occurred before women were able to resume use of family planning services.

Moreover, the effects of the pandemic are not impacting everyone equally, including for SRHR. Those in LMICs and girls, women, and underrepresented populations, including Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC), LGBTQIA+ people, and other traditionally excluded populations, are facing outsized challenges to realizing their SRHR.

As the world looks to build back better from COVID-19, we need

implementation and funding that are rooted in equity, that reach those furthest behind first, that build up resilient health systems, and that are gender-responsive, filling the gaps that have widened during the pandemic and recognizing that SRH services are essential, not optional.

WD2023 will focus on COVID-19 response and recovery, centering the implications of the pandemic on girls, women, and gender equality progress and developing solutions to address some of the major setbacks the pandemic has caused.

**PAV: Some African countries still have laws which suppress women's rights. What do you think should be done so that gender related SDGs can be achieved on time?**

Kathleen Sherwin: To meet gender-related SDGs by 2030, we need to see bold real accountability in the commitments made to women, though appropriate budgets and strengthened national gender networks from our governments and our private corporations.

**PAV: Women mostly in third world lack inclusive and sexual and reproductive rights such as safe abortion, access to contraceptives among others. Which measures do you think are appropriate to uproot this?**

Kathleen Sherwin: We, at Women Deliver, firmly believe that good health and the full realization of sexual and reproductive health are fundamental rights.

A report by the Guttmacher. org highlights the strain that the COVID-19 pandemic imposes on health systems will undoubtedly impact the sexual and reproductive health of individuals living in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs);

however, sexual and reproductive services.

health will also be affected by societal responses to the pandemic, such as local or national lockdowns that force health services to shut down if they are not deemed essential, as well as the consequences of physical distancing, travel restrictions and economic slowdowns.

The COVID-19 pandemic is already having adverse effects on the supply chain for contraceptive commodities by disrupting the manufacture of key pharmaceutical components of contraceptive methods or the manufacture of the methods themselves (e.g., condoms), and by delaying transportation of contraceptive commodities.

In addition, equipment and staff involved in provision of sexual and reproductive health services may be diverted to fulfill other needs, clinics may close, and people may be reluctant to go to health facilities for sexual and reproductive health

Many governments are restricting people's movements to stem the spread of the virus, and providers are being forced to suspend some sexual and reproductive health services that are not classified as essential, such as abortion care, thus denying people this time-sensitive and potentially life-saving service.

For example, the country lockdowns in Nepal and India have forced clinics operated by Marie Stopes International—the largest provider of family planning services in India outside of the public sector—to close.

Without concerted action, access to essential sexual and reproductive health services, and the quality of any care that is provided, will likely decline.

Previous public health emergencies have shown that the impact of an epidemic on sexual and reproductive health often goes unrecognized,

because the effects are often not the direct result of the infection, but instead the indirect consequences of strained health care systems, disruptions in care and redirected resources. Moreover, responses to epidemics further exacerbate gender-based and other health disparities.

When girls and women have access to reproductive health services, they are more likely to stay in school, join the workforce, become economically independent, and live their full potential. It is a virtuous cycle and benefits individuals, communities, and countries.

It takes diverse stakeholders to deliver on these fundamental rights and hence it is absolutely vital to strengthen the collective health for all movement, inclusive and promotive of SRHR.

**PAV: Do you think Africa is ready to shift for an inclusive development where women**

**voices are heard and counted?**

Kathleen Sherwin: When girls and women have the right to control their own bodies, sexuality, and fertility, it transforms gender relations and increases their ability to live happier, healthier, and more fulfilling lives.

A world without fear, stigma, or discrimination is a prerequisite for gender equality, as is girls' and women's ability to live according to their sexual health and rights. In order to realize these rights, governments and civil society partners need to adopt comprehensive approaches to protect and uphold them while empowering individuals to claim their rights, including strong legal and policy frameworks; access to information and comprehensive sexuality education; protecting the rights of marginalized groups; ensuring accountability; and involving men and boys in national efforts to respect, protect, and fulfill sexual rights.

## "Tsatsu Tsikata The Law Of Ghana"

By Maxwell Nkansa

**T**satsu Tsikata is a Ghanaian academic and lawyer. He is also a former Chief Executive of the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation. He is a notable affiliate and legal counsel to the National Democratic Congress and is regarded as one of the leading members of the political party. Tsikata was born in Keta in the south of the Volta Region of Ghana. He was however brought up in Adabraka, a suburb of Accra, the capital of Ghana. He started school at an early age because he wanted to follow his older brother Fui to school. He first attended Additrom Preparatory School and then Mrs. Sam's Preparatory School, a school also attended by former President of Ghana Jerry Rawlings.

He was again moved to Accra Newtown Experimental School, where he was jumped from Year 2



to Year 3, catching up with his older brother Fui. He won a United Africa Company (UAC) scholarship in 1960 to start his secondary education at

the age of nine at the Mfantsipim School where his father and his elder brother, Fui Sokpoli Tsikata also attended. On completion of his

five-year course, he gained admission into the University of Ghana, Legon, at the age of 16, where he obtained an LL.B First Class degree at the age of 18. Only one other 18-year-old had completed a degree program at that time. His lecturers included Professor Ofori Amaah and Dr. Obed Asamoah, a former foreign minister and Attorney General of Ghana.

He then won a post-graduate scholarship from the University of Ghana to Oxford University where he again obtained first-class honors in Bachelor of Civil Law which is equivalent to a master's degree at other British universities. Tsikata held a Junior Research Fellowship at Oxford University where he also served as a tutor. On

his return to Ghana in 1974, he was appointed a lecturer at the law faculty of the University of Ghana. Some



of his students included Kwamena Ahwoi, Alban Bagbin, former majority leader in the Parliament of Ghana and current speaker of the 8th Parliament of Ghana as well as Freddie Blay, former first deputy speaker in the Parliament of Ghana.

Tsikata has served as counsel to several notable personalities over the years. These include Captain Kojo Tsikata, his cousin, Kofi Awoonor, and President Jerry Rawlings. During the era of the National Redemption Council/Supreme Military Council military regimes of Acheampong, he defended Samuel Okudjeto and William Ofori Atta who stood trial for political reasons. After the May 15 Uprising in 1979, he was counseled for Jerry Rawlings during the treason trial that came to an abrupt end when the SMC military government led by Fred Akuffo was overthrown on 4 June 1979. He was the Lead Counsel for the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) in an electoral petition in Ghana. He was the lead counsel for the NDC during the first-ever electoral petition trial filed by the opposition New Patriotic Party challenging the results of the 2012 elections. The NDC filed a joinder to be the third respondent of this case.

### **Ghana National Petroleum Corporation**

Tsikata was appointed the Chief Executive of the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) from October 1988 to December 2000 by the then ruling NDC led by



*Former President John Aggrey Kufour and Tsatsu Tsikata.*

Jerry Rawlings. Tsikata was tried for causing financial loss of GH¢230,000 to the state whilst CEO of Ghana National Petroleum Company after a trial through the Accra Fast Track Tribunal, one of many set up by the Kufuor government to try such cases.

However, it should not be lost on readers that Nana Akuffo Addo later became Attorney General in the Kufuor Administration. In 2001, Nana Addo started prosecuting Tsatsu Tsikata until the Fast-Track High Court jailed Tsatsu for five years on June 18, 2008. Tsatsu's offence was that he caused wilful financial loss to the State when he was the CEO of the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC). President Kufuor later gave Tsatsu a presidential pardon, but Tsatsu rejected it with a handwritten letter saying,

"I have never sought, and I do not need your pretence of mercy. Justice is my quest, and I will pursue that quest in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of Ghana"

"I was convicted on charges of "wilfully causing financial loss to the state" and "misapplying public property" and sentenced to five years imprisonment by Mrs. Justice Henrietta Abban, sitting as a judge of the Fast Track High Court in Accra. That same day, I filed an appeal against the decision. On November 30, 2016, by a unanimous decision of the Court of Appeal, the judgment of June 18, 2008, was set aside and I was acquitted and discharged on all counts"

Even that, Tsatsu said publicly later that he did not hate President Kufuor and President Akuffo Addo (then Attorney General) for causing

his imprisonment. Tsatsu appealed his imprisonment at the Court of Appeal, won in November 2016 and walked a free man. The Court of Appeal ruled unanimously that the High Court failed to give Tsatsu a "fair opportunity to defend himself."

### **How Tsatsu Tsikata And Nana Akuffo Addo Teamed Up Against The Attorney General In 1979.**

The article recounts the legal collaboration between Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo (now President) and Tsatsu Tsikata in 1979 against Mr. Joe Reindorf, the Attorney General in the Liman Administration and Rt. Hon. Jacob Hackenbug Griffiths-Randolph, the Speaker of the 1979 Parliament of Ghana. The case is known as Tuffuor v. Attorney-General (1980) GLR 634 and it relates to appointment of Chief Justice under the 1979 Constitution. Nana Addo and Tsatsu Tsikata defended the plaintiff, Dr. Tuffuor.

### **The 1979 Constitution and the Appointment of Chief Justice**

On September 24, 1979, the Third Republican Constitution came into force. The Leader of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings assented to the Constitution on September 18, 1979 and it was gazetted accordingly. Having won the 1979 Presidential Elections with 62% in a run-off on July 9, 1979, Dr. Hilla Limann became President of the Third Republic of



*President Nana Addo and Tsatsu Tsikata.*

Ghana.

Prior to the coming into force of the 1979 Constitution on 24th September 1979, Justice Fredrick Kwasi Apaloo was already appointed Chief Justice in 1977 by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) Administration and he was serving in that capacity. Effectively, he was President of the Supreme Court and Head of the Judicial Service. It would be recalled that in 1972, the SMC overthrew the Busia Administration and the 1969 Constitution.

Two Clauses (8 and 9) of Article 127 of the 1979 (Third Republican) Constitution jointly provided that a person holding office as a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature immediately before the coming into force of the Constitution shall be deemed to have been appointed in that capacity under the Constitution. The person's appointment would, therefore, take effect from the date the Constitution came into force. The person was to continue holding office as such. However, the person must subscribe to the oath of allegiance and the judicial oath provided in the Second Schedule of the 1979 Constitution.

Clauses 8 and 9 of Article 127 of the 1979 Constitution cited above, therefore, applied to Justice Apaloo's position as the Chief Justice of Ghana prior to the coming into force of the 1979 Constitution. In effect, he should have continued serving so as the Constitution clearly provided.

Contrary to the stipulated provisions of the Constitution, 1979 (Article 127), some members of the ruling People's National Party (PNP) had a diabolical plan to remove Justice Apaloo, the incumbent Chief Justice (CJ) from office. According to that diabolical plan and in contravention of the Constitution, President Hilla Limann nominated Justice Apaloo as CJ candidate and the Appointment Committee of Parliament consequently vetted him for a position, he had already



**Former President Jerry John Rawlings.**

occupied for two years. Having vetted Justice Apaloo, Parliament rejected his nomination as CJ under the 1979 Constitution. In effect, Parliament found Justice Apaloo unworthy to be Chief Justice under the new Constitution. This meant that Justice Apaloo would cease to hold office as CJ. Note that in the 1979 Parliament, the PNP MPs occupied 71 out of the 140 seats so they were in the majority. Justice Apaloo's nomination and rejection generated extensive and lengthy national debate. Note that it was the total number (140) of MPs in the 1979 Parliament that later informed Article 93 (1) of the 1992 Constitution, which states, "There shall be a Parliament of Ghana which shall consist of not less than one hundred and forty (140) elected members."

The Court Case (Tuffuor v. Attorney-General) in which Nana Addo and Tsikata Defended the Plaintiff (Dr. Amoako Tuffuor)

Dr. Kwame Amoako Tuffuor, a Ghanaian citizen and a Senior Lecturer of University of Science and Technology (now Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology) was displeased with the PNP Administration's machinations

to oust Justice Apaloo from office. Accordingly, Dr. Tuffuor took the matter (nomination, vetting and rejection of Justice Apaloo as CJ) to the Supreme Court for determination. He went to court upon the strength of Article 118 (1) (a) of the 1979 Constitution which clothed the Supreme Court with the original jurisdiction to the exclusion of all other Courts, "in all matters relating to the enforcement or interpretation of any provision of the Constitution." Tuffuor wanted the Court to interpret the provisions of the Constitution, 1979 relating to the appointment of CJ especially Article 127 (8) and (9) of the Constitution. It would be recalled that Dr. Amoako Tuffuor was later appointed the Coordinator of the School Feeding Programme in the J.A. Kufuor Administration. Dr. Amoako Tuffuor died on January 21, 2021.

In the Tuffuor v. Attorney-General case, the Court of Appeal sat as the Supreme Court. The panel included Justices E.N.P. Sowah (who would later succeed Justice Apaloo as Chief Justice in 1986), V.C.R.A.C Crabbe, G.S. Lassey, George Francois and Kwadwo Agyei Agyepong (one of the three Judges murdered on June

30, 1982).

In constituting the Supreme Court panel for Tuffuor v. Attorney-General case, Justice Agyepong came from the High Court, Justices Lassey and Francois were from the Court of Appeal to join their brothers, Justices Sowah and Crabbe. Justice Sowah was the Presiding Judge.

As indicated earlier, Tuffuor's legal team were Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo (now President of Ghana) and Lawyer Tsatsu Tsikata. It would be recalled that Tsatsu Tsikata was later an opponent Counsel to Nana Addo's Legal Counsels in the 2012 and 2020 Presidential Election Petitions determined by the Supreme Court of Ghana in 2013 and 2021 respectively. Yes, the two legal brains once teamed up against the Attorney General (Mr Joe Reindorf) his Deputy, A.L Djabatey). Episode 2 will touch on the trial and decision of the Court.

Tsatsu is called the law of Ghana because he has in his life thought many lawyers, judges in many of the courts in Ghana, and even the higher court of Ghana. He has over the years challenged and corrected judges in a court while court proceedings are ongoing, due to his conviction over the English law and the black law.



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# Push By Zimbabwean Parliamentarians For Scrapping Of Cellphone Levy Supported

By Wallace Mawire



The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zimbabwe has reported that it supports the push by parliamentarians to scrap the US\$50,00 levy on new cell phone handsets as it will impact negatively on internet access and citizens' rights to information.

Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Professor Mthuli Ncube, proposed the US\$50,00 duty when he presented his budget in Parliament recently.

However, parliamentarians and analysts attending a post-budget seminar said the duty should be scrapped. They argued, among other issues, that this would discourage the use of ICTs and the promotion of e-learning in remote areas.

MISA Zimbabwe urged the Ministry of Finance to instead work closely with the Ministry of Information Communication Technology, Postal and Courier Services, and

other key stakeholders, to increase uptake in the usage of ICTs as opposed to imposing taxes and levies that widen the digital divide.

According to the Alliance for Affordable Internet Device Pricing Review in Sub-Saharan Africa, the average price of a smartphone is 45% of the average monthly income of ordinary citizens.

In that regard, while ownership of smartphones is one of the four pillars of meaningful connectivity, the high cost of these devices is the reason why some people do not use the internet which the African Declaration on Internet Rights and Freedoms has declared a fundamental human right.

The importance of internet access and use in this digital age cannot be over-emphasised as has been experienced in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Internet access has been accepted and stressed the world

over as a human right through international frameworks and standards, resolutions, general comments and conventions by regional and international bodies.

In Zimbabwe specifically, this has been demonstrated, for example, through the establishment of the Universal Services Fund and the setting up of community information centres to provide telecommunication services and information to rural and marginalised communities.

However, barriers to internet access still exist at a time when the telecommunications industry is heavily taxed while the cost of devices, particularly smartphones, laptops and computers, including mobile data tariffs, is still exorbitant. Recently, on 30 November 2021, NetOne reviewed its prices, with 10 gigabytes costing ZWL 4,500,00 while 80 gigabytes costing ZWL 12,500.00. This is despite numerous calls for telecommunications

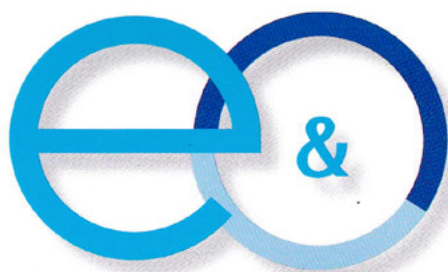
industry players to be guided by their public interest role.

As a result, internet freedoms and or digital rights which should be enjoyed equally, remain a luxury for ordinary citizens and the majority of Zimbabweans. The digital divide between low-income earners and high-income earners thus continues to widen.

MISA Zimbabwe urges the government, Parliament and the Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (POTRAZ), to ensure that universal access to technology and the internet becomes a reality.

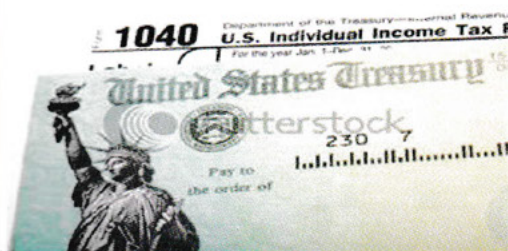
The principles pertaining to internet access and affordability, democratic multi-stakeholder internet governance, the openness of the internet, among others, are clearly laid out in the African Declaration on Internet Rights and Freedoms.





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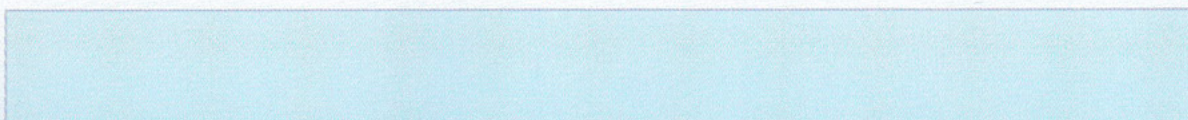
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## FIFA Qatar 2022 WC Qualifiers: 10 Teams Battling For Five Available CAF Tickets

By Boris Esono Nwenfor

The contest for the available slots for the upcoming FIFA 2022 Qatar World Cup has reached its climax as the boys have been separated from the men. Ten (10) countries are left and these teams will be battling for the five (5) allocated slots for African teams at the FIFA World Cup.

The playoffs draw for the Qatar FIFA World Cup qualifiers will be held on 22 or 26 January 2022 with a two-leg format, according to the Confederation of African Football, CAF. The top-seeded teams will start the mission away from home and host opponents at home in the second leg.

According to the qualifying system, the 10 teams will be divided into 2 pots based on their January FIFA ranking and a draw will be conducted for the five ties that are scheduled for March 2022.

Defending AFCON champion Algeria, Cameroon, Egypt, DR Congo, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia are the ten teams that will be battling it out for the five available tickets at the Qatar FIFA World Cup.

### Cameroon

The Indomitable Lions qualified for the knockout phase after finishing top of Group D. The team had to power their way to victory in the last two games to stand any chance of qualifying and they certainly did, seeing off Malawi and Ivory Coast in the last game to pick a spot at the top ten.

Heading into the last game against the Elephants of Ivory Coast, the Indomitable Lions were just a point ahead and needed just a draw for their qualification. In the first leg between the two sides, Ivory Coast proved too strong for Cameroon with Sebastien Halle scoring two goals in a 2-1 victory.

And the stakes could not be even higher for the last game. Cameroon's coach Antonio Conceicao filled a strong squad that had won Malawi



*Indomitable Lions of Cameroon defeated Ivory Coast 1-0 to reach the last round.*

and it was Karl Toko Ekambi who made sure that it was Cameroon moving forward while Ivory Coast for a second consecutive time will not participate in the World Cup.

### Algeria

The Desert Foxes had an almost perfect qualifying record and are one of the favourites to qualify for the World Cup. Algeria finished with 14 points and extended their unbeaten record to 33 matches and finished two points ahead of Burkina Faso.

Algeria scored 25 goals on their way to the knockout phase and conceded just 4 without any loss. They were held only by Burkina Faso in both encounters. Algeria in all but two of those encounters scored at least four goals with Sofiane Feghouli (3 goals) and Baghdad Bounedjah (2 goals) also contributing in goals.

In Islam Slimani and Youcef Belaili, Algeria is a side packed with stars who can turn any game. Islam Slimani finished as the top scorer of the second round with 7 goals with teammate Riyad Mahrez getting five while Youcef got six assists, more

than any other player.

### Ghana

The black stars of Ghana may have qualified but that is still being reviewed by FIFA after South Africa complained due to poor officiating in their last game which saw Ghana being awarded a "dubious" penalty.

South Africa has demanded the match to be replayed but FIFA is yet to rule on the match though they have sanctioned the official in the middle of the scandal. South Africa was leading the group heading to the final round and just needed not to lose against Ghana. That all fell apart after their 1-0 defeat to Ghana, though under bitter circumstances.

The Black Stars are hoping to reach Qatar after failing to reach the competition last time out in Russia. But that will only be made possible if FIFA sides with them in their dispute against South Africa.

### Egypt

The Pharaohs had to fight for their place at the knockout phase and eventually got over the line. The

country narrowly qualified after a 2-2 draw against Angola, all without their starman Mohammed Salah.

Without Salah, Egypt has had to rely on Mohamed Magdy and Mostafa Mohamed who both got goals. With their marksman hopefully being available Egypt is going to be a force to reckon with at the last stage.

### Mali

Amongst the ten teams that have qualified for the knockout phase, Mali is seen as the underdog, a tagline that should not fool you because the Malians possess a formidable squad.

Mali was a powerful side in the group stages finishing top of Group E with 16 points, 7 points ahead of Uganda. Mali had five wins and a draw scoring 11 goals conceding none. Ibrahima Kone has been the figurehead of the Malian side and if the team is to make it to Qatar, he will need to find the back of the net at the last qualifying stage. During the group stages, Ibrahima Kone scored 5 goals.

### DR Congo





Morocco finished the group stages with a perfect record - six wins from six games.

Another underdog compared to the others, DR Congo qualified top of Group J with 11 points, just 1 ahead of Benin who pushed the side all the way. A penalty from Mbokani (scored 4 goals in the whole group stages) and Molango ensured that DR Congo defeated Benin 2-0 in the last game in Kinshasa.

### Nigeria

The Super Eagles will be hoping that luck will be on their side for them to reach the World Cup next year after failing at the 2018 Russia World Cup. Nigeria drew with Cape Verde to make it to the next round. Despite this qualification into the knockout stage, many Nigerians are still unsure about their chances of qualification and even with Coach Roh.

For months, the future of the coach has been uncertain and reports had indicated that he had been sacked, though that turned out not to be the case. Many have lambasted the style of play of the Nigerian team as just "boring". Nigeria scored three goals and went away with four points against Liberia and Cape Verde, but two of those goals were penalties.

After scoring in the first minute against Cape Verde, Nigeria spend 90mins just barely hanging on and running the clock down, something that is unlike the Super Eagles side of the past.

### Morocco

Morocco is another team that is seen as one of the favourites to pick their qualification. Morocco possesses one of the strongest teams that is left in the competition and their performances at the group stages prove that. In six games played, Morocco picked up six wins (the only perfect record), scoring 20 goals and conceding just one.

Ayoub El Kaabi (5 goals) and Ryan Mmaee (4 goals) have been the figureheads for the Moroccan side in the group stages. And if they continue this form into the knockout stage, Morocco will be going to Qatar next year.

### Tunisia

The Tunisians got their place after defeating Zambia 3-1. The team also drew 2-2-2 against Burkina Faso,

booking their spot in the last round. Tunisia advance after finishing top of Group B with 13 points, 2 points ahead of Equatorial Guinea.

Tunisia had to rely mostly on Wahbi Khazri (3 goals) and Ellyes Skhiri (2 goals) for their qualification. The team conceded just 2 goals and scored 11, drawing against Mauritania and the one defeat against Equatorial Guinea.

The FIFA Qatar 2022 World Cup will take place between Monday, November 21 and Sunday, December 18 will be the last to feature 32 teams with the number being expanded to 48 for the 2026 World Cup which will be played in the United States, Mexico and Canada.

### Prediction

Well, I can easily go out on a limb and tell you who I want to qualify for the World Cup but the players are the ones to see that through on the pitch. And the draw is certainly going to give a clearer picture of who qualifies for the World Cup or not. So what do we do now? Catch your breath and stay patient for now. Once March 2022 rolls around, bring all the action, drama, goals, high and low lights.



Black Stars of Ghana hoping FIFA validates their qualification for the last round after their dispute with South Africa.



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If you answered yes to any of the following questions, then you can be saving yourself from a lot of time and money wasted on purchasing advertisement from highly competitive or low quality sites.

At Pan African Visions, we can help your brand and sales explode by advertising to countless readers on our powerful online publication website, with a yearly page visit count in the millions (500k visitors a month, circa, 100k plus weekly Facebook post reach, partnership with major PR agencies capable of distributing your stories across all of Africa and beyond).

We also have our monthly Pan African Visions Magazine to carry adverts, and other corporate information.

We provide the perfect advertisement methods to sell your products and services.

Not only do we have massive reach and comparative advertisement rates, but we can also accommodate many different styles of advertisement methods. From Video ads, corporate profiles, Press releases, etc, we can help you choose the best way to advertise your offer to our rapidly expanding audience.

Our partnership will be your gateway to our loyal following, granting you access to people across Africa and in the diaspora.

For more information on how we can help you increase your brand awareness and sales contact us, for a free consultation.

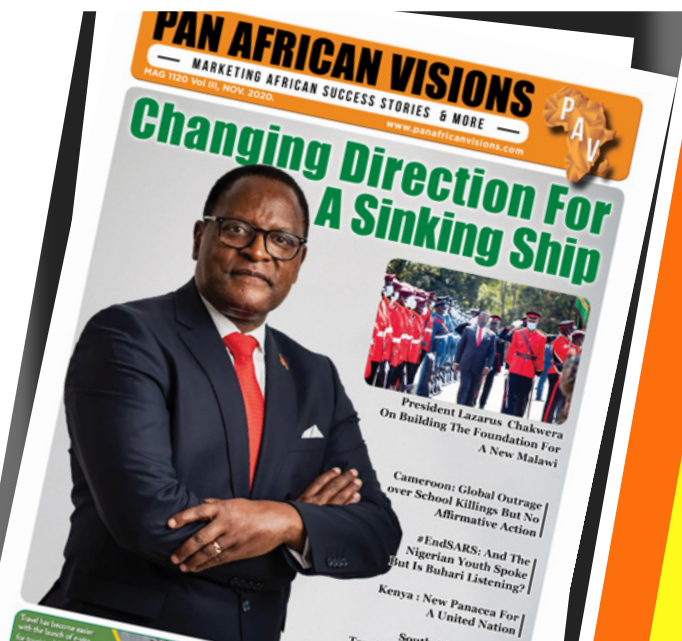
## CONTACT US

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P.S Email or Call , to receive our special discounted rate.





# BRING YOUR **A**-GAME IF YOUR **A**-GAME IS AFRICA

Centurion Law Group is a **pan-African corporate law conglomerate**, with a specialised focus on cross-border business and energy law. We are a stand out firm for investors that are starting a new business or looking to expand their footprint across **Africa**.

We provide a full-scope **legal, tax, government relations and management advice for clients and regular advice** on some of the most complex and market-first deals.



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